This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

GIFT OF
Elisabeth Whitney Putnam

C Putnam

Osgood Putnam

LIFE

OF

GEN. PUTNAM.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE

OF THE

HONOURABLE MAJOR GENERAL

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

ADDRESSED TO

THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN

CONNECTICUT,

And first published by their order.

BY COL. DAVID HUMPHREYS.

WITH

NOTES AND ADDITIONS.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

SKETCH

OF

BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

BY S. SWETT.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL AVERY,

No. 89 Court Street.

1818.

E207
P9H9

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

TO THE

HON. COL. JEREMIAH WADSWORTH,

President of the State Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut, &c.

My dear Sir,

Unavoidable absence will prevent me from performing the grateful task assigned me by the State Society of the Cincinnati on the fourth day of July next. Though I cannot personally address them, I wish to demonstrate, by some token of affectionate remembrance, the sense I entertain of the honour they have more than once conferred upon me by their suffrages.

Meditating in what manner to accomplish this object, it occurred to me, that an attempt to preserve the actions of General Putnam, in the archives of our State Society, would be acceptable to its members, as they had all served with great satisfaction under his immediate orders. An essay on the life of a per-

41454

son so elevated in military rank, and so conversant in extraordinary scenes, could not be destitute of amusement and instruction, and would possess the advantage of presenting for imitation a respectable model of public and private virtues.

General Putnam is universally acknowledged to have been as brave and as honest a man as ever America produced; but the distinguishing features of his character, and the particular transactions of his life, are but imperfectly known. He seems to have been formed on purpose for the age in which he lived. His native courage, unshaken integrity, and established reputation as a soldier, were necessary in the early stages of our opposition to the designs of Great Britain, and gave unbounded confidence to our troops in their first conflicts in the field of battle.

The enclosed manuscript justly claims indulgence for its venial errors, as it is the first effort in Biography that has been made on this continent. The attempt, I am conscious, is laudable, whatever may be the failure in point of execution.

I am happy to find the Society of the Cincinnati is now generally regarded in a favoura-

ble manner. Mankind, with few exceptions, are disposed to do justice to the motives on which it was founded. For ourselves, we can never recall to mind the occasion, without feeling the most tender emotions of friendship and sensibility. At the dissolution of the army, when we retired to separate walks of life, from the toils of a successful war, in which we had been associated during a very important part of our lives, the pleasing idea, and the fond hope of meeting once a year, *which gave birth to our fraternal institution*, were necessary consolations to sooth the pangs that tore our bosoms at the melancholy hour of parting. When our hands touched, perhaps for the last time, and our tongues refused to perform their office in bidding farewell, heaven witnessed and approved the purity of our intentions in the ardour of our affections. May we persevere in the union of our friendship, and the exertion of our benevolence; regardless of the censures of jealous suspicion, which charges our designs with selfishness, and ascribes our actions to improper motives; while we realize sentiments of a nobler nature in our anniversary festivities, and our hearts dilate with an honest joy, in opening the hand of benefi-

cence to the indigent widow and unprotected orphan of our departed friends.

I pray you, my dear Sir, to present my most respectful compliments to the members of the Society, and to assure them, on my part, that whensoever it shall be in my power, I shall esteem it the felicity of my life to attend their anniversaries.

I have the honour to be,

With sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

Mount-Vernon, in Virginia,
June 4, 1788.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE OF GENERAL PUTNAM.

To TREAT of recent transactions and persons still living, is always a delicate, and frequently a thankless office. Yet, while the partiality of friends, or the malignity of enemies, decides with rashness on every delineation of character, or recital of circumstances, a consolation remains, that distant nations, and remoter ages, free from the influence of prejudice or passion, will judge with impartiality, and appreciate with justice. We have fallen upon an era singularly prolific in extraordinary personages, and dignified by splendid events. Much is expected from the selections of the judicious biographer, as well as from the labours of the faithful historian. Whatever prudential reasons may now occur to postpone the portrait of our own times, the difficulties which oppose themselves to the execution, instead of being diminished, will increase with the lapse of years. Every day will extinguish some life that was dear to fame,

and obliterate the memorial of some deed which would have constituted the delight and admiration of the world.

So transient and indistinguishable are the traits of character, so various and inexplicable the springs of action, so obscure and perishable the remembrance of human affairs, that, unless attempts are made to sketch the picture, while the present generation is living, the likeness will be for ever lost, or only preserved by a vague recollection; disguised perhaps, by the whimsical colourings of a creative imagination.

It will, doubtless, hereafter be an object of regret, that those who, having themselves been conspicuous actors on the theatre of public life, and who, in conjunction with a knowledge of facts, possess abilities to paint those characters, and describe those events which, during the progress of the American Revolution, interested and astonished mankind, should feel an insuperable reluctance to assume the task—a task which, if executed with fidelity, must, from the dignity of its subject, become grateful to the patriots of all nations, and profitable in example to the remotest posterity. Equally severe will be the mortification of contemplating the reveries and fictions which have been substituted by hacknied writers in the place of historical facts. Nor should we suppress our indignation against that class of professional authors, who, placed in the vale of penury and obscurity, at an immense

distance from the scenes of action, and all opportunities of acquiring the necessary documents, with insufferable effrontery, obtrude their fallacious and crude performances on a credulous public. Did the result of their lucubrations terminate only in relieving their own distresses, or gratifying their individual vanity, it might be passed in silent contempt. But the effect is extensive, permanent, and pernicious. The lie,* however improbable or monstrous, which has once assumed the semblance of truth, by being often repeated with minute and plausible particulars, is, at length, so thoroughly established, as to obtain universal credit, defy contradiction, and frustrate every effort of refutation. Such is the mischief, such are the unhappy consequences on the bewildered mind, that the reader has no alternative, but to become the dupe of his credulity, or distrust the veracity of almost all human testimony. After having long been the sport of fiction, he will, perhaps, probably run into the opposite extreme, and give up all confidence in the annals of ancient as well as modern times; and thus the easy believer of fine fables and marvellous stories will find, at last, his historical faith change to scepticism, and end in infidelity.

* The writer had here particularly in his eye, the Rhapsody palmed upon the public, under the name of a History, by a certain Frenchman, called D'Auberteiul: Perhaps so much falsehood, folly and calumny was never before accumulated in a single performance.

The numerous errors and falsehoods relative to the birth and achievements of Major-General Putnam, which have (at a former period) been circulated with assiduity on both sides of the Atlantic, and the uncertainty which appeared to prevail with respect to his real character,* first produced the resolution of writing this essay on his life, and induced the Editor to obtain† materials from that hero himself. If communications of such authenticity, if personal intimacy as an aid-de-camp to that General, or if subsequent military employments, which afforded access to sources‡

* The following lines are extracted from a poem, entitled "The Prospect of America:" written by the late ingenious Dr. Ladd.

"Hail Putnam! hail, thou venerable name!
"Tho' dark oblivion threats thy mighty fame,
"It threats in vain—for long shalt thou be known,
"Who first in virtue and in battle shone.
"When fourscore years had blanch'd thy laurell'd head,
"Strong in thine age, the flame of war was spread."

On which Dr. Ladd made this note:

"The brave Putnam seems to have been almost obscured amidst "the glare of succeeding worthies; but his early and gallant ser-"vices entitle him to an everlasting remembrance."

Other bards have also asserted the glory of this venerable veteran. In the first concise review of the principal American heroes who signalized themselves in the last war, the same character is thus represented:

"There stood stern Putnam, seam'd with many a scar,
"The veteran honors of an early war."
The Vision of Columbus. Book V.

† The editor seizes with eagerness an opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. Albigence Waldo, who was so obliging as to commit to writing many anecdotes, communicated to him by General Putnam in the course of the present year.

‡ A multitude of proofs might be produced to demonstrate that military facts cannot always be accurately known but by the commander in chief and his confidential officers. The Marquis de

of intelligence not open to others, give the writer any advantages, the unbiassed mind will decide how far they exculpate him from the imputations of that officiousness, ignorance and presumption, which, in others, have been reprehended with severity. He only wishes that a premature and unfavourable construction may not be formed of his motive or object. Should this essay have any influence in correct-

Chastelleux (whose opportunity to acquire genuine information, respecting those parts of the American war which he hath casually mentioned, was better than that of any other writer) gives an account of a grand forage which General Heath ordered to be made towards King's-bridge in the autumn of 1780. The Marquis, who was present when the detachment marched, and to whom General Heath shewed the orders that were given to General Stark, the commanding officer of the expedition, observes that he had never seen, in manuscript, or print, more pertinent instructions. Now the fact is, that this detachment, under the pretext of a forage, was intended by the Commander in Chief to cooperate with the main army in an attempt against the enemy's posts on York Island; and that General Heath himself was then ignorant of the real design. The Commander in Chief spent a whole campaign in ripening this project. Boats, mounted on travelling carriages, were kept constantly with the army. The marquis de la Fayette, at the head of the Light Infantry, was to have made the attack in the night on fort Washington. The period chosen for this enterprise was the very time, when the army were to break up their camp and march into winter quarters: so that the Commander in Chief, moving in the dusk of the evening, would have been on the banks of the Hudson, with his whole force, to have supported the attack. The cautious manner in which the cooperation on the part of the troops sent by General Heath, on the pretended forage, was to have been conducted, will be understood from the following secret instructions.

To Brigadier General STARK.

Head Quarters, Passaic Falls, Nov. 21, 1780.

"SIR,

"Colonel Humphreys, one of my Aids-de-camp, is "charged by me with orders of a private and particular nature, "which he is to deliver to you, and which you are to obey. He "will inform you of the necessity of this mode of communication.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"G. WASHINGTON."

ing mistakes, or rescuing from oblivion the actions of that distinguished veteran; should it create an emulation to copy his domestic, manly and heroic virtues; or should it prompt some more skilful hand to portray the illustrious group of patriots, sages, and heroes, who have guided our councils, fought our battles, and adorned the memorable epocha of independence, it will be an ample compensa-

"To Lieutenant Colonel DAVID HUMPHREYS, A. D. Camp.

"SIR,

"You are immediately to proceed to West Point, and "communicate the business committed to you, in confidence, to "Major General Heath, and to no other person whatsoever: from "thence you will repair to the detachment at the White Plains, on "Friday next, taking measures to prevent their leaving that "place before you get to them. And in the course of the suc- "ceeding night you may inform the commanding officer of the "enterprise in contemplation against the enemy's posts on York "Island.

"As the troops are constantly to lie on their arms, no previous "notice should be given: but they may be put in motion precisely "at 4 o'clock, and commence a slow and regular march to King's- "bridge, until they shall discover or be informed of the concerted "signals being made, when the march must be pressed with the "greatest rapidity. Parties of horse should be sent forward to "keep a look out for the signals.

"Although the main body ought to be kept compact, patroles of "horse and light parties might be sent towards East and West "Chester: and upon the signals being discovered, Sheldon's regi- "ment and the Connecticut State troops (which may also be put "in motion as soon as the orders can be communicated after 4 "o'clock) should be pushed forward to intercept any of the enemy, "who may attempt to gain Frog's Neck, and to cut off the Refu- "gee-corps at Morissania. A few men, with some address, may "spread such an alarm as to prevent an attempt of the enemy to "retreat to Frog's Neck, from an apprehension of surrounding "parties.

"You will communicate these instructions to the commanding "officer of the detachment, who, upon his approach to King's- "bridge, will receive orders from me as early as possible.

"Should the signals not be discovered, the troops will halt at "least six miles from the bridge, until further intelligence can be "obtained.

tion for the trouble, and excite a consolatory reflection through every vicissitude of life.

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who, through a regular gradation of promotion, became the senior Major-General in the army of the United States, and next in rank to General Washington, was born at Salem, in the Province (now State) of Massachusetts, on the 7th day of January, 1718. His father, Captain Joseph Putnam, was the son of Mr. John Putnam, who, with two brothers, came from the south of England, and were among the first settlers of Salem.

When we thus behold a person, from the humble walks of life, starting unnoticed in the

"The absolute necessity of the most perfect secrecy is the occa-
"sion of communicating my orders through this channel.
"*Given at Head Quarters, Passaic Falls,*
"*this 22d day of Nov.* 1780.
"G. WASHINGTON."

Never was a plan better arranged: and never did circumstances promise more sure or complete success. The British were not only unalarmed, but our own troops were likewise entirely misguided in their expectations. The accidental intervention of some vessels prevented at this time the attempt; which was more than once resumed afterwards. Notwithstanding this favourite project was not ultimately effected, it was evidently not less bold in conception or feasible in accomplishment, than that attempted so successfully at Trenton, or than that which was brought to so glorious an issue in the successful siege of York-Town.

It is true the Marquis de Chastelleux, whose professional knowledge and fountain-head intelligence have enabled him to describe several actions better than they are elsewhere described, speaks in this instance of an ulterior object; and says, that secrets were preserved more inviolably in the American than in the French army. His words are:

"C'est que le secret est garde tres exactement a l'armee Amer-
"icaine; peu de personnes ont part a la confiance du Chef, et en
"general on y parle moins que dans les armees Francoises des
"operations de la guerre, et de ce que l'on appelle chez nous *les*
"*Nouvelles.*"

career of fame, and, by an undeviating progress through a life of honour, arriving at the highest dignity in the state, curiosity is strongly excited, and philosophy loves to trace the path of glory from the cradle of obscurity to the summit of elevation.

Although our ancestors, the first settlers of this land, amidst the extreme pressure of poverty and danger, early instituted schools for the education of youth designed for the learned professions, yet it was thought sufficient to instruct those destined to labour on the earth, in reading, writing, and such rudiments of arithmetic as might be requisite for keeping the accounts of their little transactions with each other. Few farmers' sons had more advantages, none less. In this state of mediocrity it was the lot of young Putnam to be placed. His early instruction was not considerable, and the active scenes of life in which he was afterwards engaged, prevented the opportunity of great literary improvement. His numerous original letters, though deficient in scholastic accuracy, always display the goodness of his heart, and frequently the strength of his native genius. He had a certain laconic mode of expression, and an unaffected epigrammatic turn, which characterised most of his writings.

To compensate partially for the deficiency of education (though nothing can remove or counterbalance the inconveniencies experienced from it in public life) he derived from his parents the source of innumerable advantages

in the stamina of a vigorous constitution. Nature, liberal in bestowing on him bodily strength, hardiness, and activity, was by no means parsimonious in mental endowments. While we leave the qualities of the understanding to be developed in the process of life, it may not be improper, in this place, to designate some of the circumstances which were calculated to distinguish him afterwards as a partizan officer.

Courage, enterprize, activity, and perseverance were the first characteristics of his mind. There is a kind of mechanical courage, the offspring of pride, habit, or discipline, that may push a coward not only to perform his duty, but even to venture on acts of heroism. Putnam's courage was of a different species. It was ever attended with a serenity of soul, a clearness of conception, a degree of self-possession, and a superiority to all the vicissitudes of fortune, entirely distinct from any thing that can be produced by the ferment of blood, and flutter of spirits; which not unfrequently, precipitate men to action, when stimulated by intoxication or some other transient exhilaration. The heroic character, thus founded on constitution and animal spirits, cherished by education and ideas of personal freedom, confirmed by temperance and habits of exercise, was completed by the dictate of reason, the love of his country, and an invincible sense of duty. Such were the qualities and principles that enabled him to meet unappalled, the shafts of

adversity, and to pass in triumph through the furnace of affliction.

His disposition was as frank and generous as his mind was fearless and independent. He disguised nothing; indeed he seemed incapable of disguise. Perhaps in the intercourse he was ultimately obliged to have with an artful world, his sincerity, on some occasions, outwent his discretion. Although he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honour not to resent an intended insult. The first time he went to Boston he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age; after bearing the sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a stripling, his ambition was to perform the labour of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions. In that rude, but masculine age, whenever the village-youth assembled on their usual occasions of festivity, pitching the bar, running, leaping, and wrestling were favourite amusements. At such gymnastic exercises (in which, during the heroic times of ancient Greece and Rome, conquest was considered as the promise of future military fame) he bore the palm from almost every ring.

Before the refinements of luxury, and the consequent increase of expences had rendered the maintenance of a family inconvenient or

burdensome in America, the sexes entered into matrimony at an early age. Competence, attainable by all, was the limit of pursuit. After the hardships of making a new settlement were overcome, and the evils of penury removed, the inhabitants enjoyed, in the lot of equality, innocence and security, scenes equally delightful with those pictured by the glowing imagination of the poets in their favourite pastoral life, or fabulous golden age. Indeed, the condition of mankind was never more enviable. Neither disparity of age and fortune, nor schemes of ambition and grandeur, nor the pride and avarice of high-minded and mercenary parents, interposed those obstacles to the union of congenial souls, which frequently in more polished society prevent, embitter or destroy all the felicity of the connubial state. Mr. Putnam before he attained the twenty-first year of his age, married Miss Pope, daughter of Mr. John Pope of Salem, by whom he had ten children, seven of whom are still living. He lost the wife of his youth in 1764. Some time after he married Mrs. Gardiner, widow of the late Mr. Gardiner of Gardiner's Island, by whom he had no issue. She died in 1777.

In the year 1739 he removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut, forty miles east of Hartford: having here purchased a considerable tract of land he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

The first years, on a new farm, are not however exempt from disasters and disappointments, which can only be remedied by stubborn and patient industry. Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building an house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blast in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheepfold by wolves. In one night he had seventy fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havoc was committed by a she wolf, which, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity. The young were commonly destroyed by the vigilance of the hunters, but the old one was too sagacious to come within reach of gunshot: upon being closely pursued she would generally fly to the western woods, and return the next winter with another litter of whelps.

This wolf, at length became such an intolerable nuisance, that Mr Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbours to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known, that, having lost the toes from one foot, by a steel trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige, the pursuers recognized, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut river and found she

had turned back in a direct course towards Pomfret, they immediately returned, and by ten o'clock the next morning the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam: The people soon collected with dogs, guns, straw, fire and sulphur to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect. Nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement. Wearied with such fruitless attempts (which had brought the time to ten o'clock at night) Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain; he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern and shoot the wolf: the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that the master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest he should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbours strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprize: but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch-bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, di-

vested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back, at a concerted signal, he entered head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square; from thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet, then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet towards its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone, and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than three feet in width.

Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onward, came to the ascent; which he slowly mounted on his hands and knees until he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Started at the sight of fire, she gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discov-

ery, he kicked the rope as a signal for pulling him out. The people, at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity that his shirt was stripped over his head and his skin severely lacerated. After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with nine buck-shot, holding a torch in one hand and the musket in the other, he descended the second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling, rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude, and on the point of springing at him. At the critical instant he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock, and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose, and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope (still tied round his legs) the people above with no small exultation dragged them both out together.

I have offered these facts in greater detail, because they contain a display of character; and because they have been erroneously related in several European publications, and very

much mutilated in the history of Connecticut, a work as replete with falsehood as destitute of genius, lately printed in London.

Prosperity, at length, began to attend the agricultural affairs of Mr. Putnam. He was acknowledged to be a skilful and indefatigable manager. His fields were mostly enclosed with stone walls. His crops commonly succeeded, because the land was well tilled and manured. His pastures and meadows became luxuriant. His cattle were of the best breed, and in good order. His garden and fruit-trees prolific. With the avails of the surplusage of his produce, foreign articles were purchased. Within doors he found the compensation of his labors in the plenty of excellent provisions, as well as in the happiness of domestic society.

A more particular description of his transition from narrow to easy circumstances might be given; but the mind that shall have acquired an idea of the habits of labour and simplicity, to which the industrious colonists were accustomed, will readily supply the omission. The effect of this gradual acquisition of property, generally favorable to individual virtue and public felicity, should not however be passed over in silence. If there is something fascinating in the charms of a country life, from the contemplation of beautiful landscapes, there is likewise something elevating to the soul, in the consciousness of being lord of the soil, and having the power of creating them. The man can scarcely be guilty of a sordid

action, or even descend to an ungenerous thought, who, removed from the apprehension of want, sees his farm daily meliorating and assuming whatever appearance he pleases to prescribe. This situation converts the farmer into a species of rural philosopher, by inspiring an honest pride in his rank as a freeman, flattering the natural propensity for personal independence, and nourishing an unlimited hospitality and philanthropy in his social character.

But the time had now arrived which was to turn the instruments of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, who had ravaged the sheep-folds, for the pursuit after savages, who had desolated the frontiers. Mr. Putnam was about 37 years old, when the war between England and France, which preceded the last, broke out in America. His reputation must have been favourably known to the government, since among the first troops that were levied by Connecticut, in 1755, he was appointed to the command of a company in Lyman's regiment of Provincials. I have mentioned his age at this period expressly to obviate a prevalent opinion, that he was far advanced in life when he commenced his military service.

As he was extremely popular, he found no difficulty in enlisting his complement of recruits from the most hardy, enterprizing and respectable young men of his neighbourhood. The regiment joined the army, at the opening of

the campaign, not far distant from Crown-Point. Soon after his arrival at camp, he became intimately acquainted with the famous partizan Captain, afterwards Major Rogers, with whom he was frequently associated in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitering the enemy's lines, gaining intelligence, and taking straggling prisoners, as well as in beating up the quarters and surprising the advanced pickets of their army. For these operations a corps of rangers was formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops, it was the fortune of the latter to preserve, with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their friendship with the blood of one of their enemies.

The object of this expedition was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown-Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered. Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians who infested the woods. Our two partizans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence in the evening; and lay, during the night, contiguous to the fortress. Early in the morning they approached so close as to be able to give sat-

isfactory information to the General who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed: but Captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fusee with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered. Putnam, perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost, or further alarm given by firing, ran rapidly to them, while they were yet struggling, and with the but-end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partizans, to elude pursuit, precipitated their flight, joined the party, and returned without loss to the encampment. Not many occasions occurred for partizans to display their talents in the course of this summer. The war was chequered with various fortune in different quarters—such as the total defeat of General Braddock, and the splendid victory of Sir William Johnson over the French troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. The brilliancy of this success was necessary to console the Americans for the disgrace of that disaster. Here I might, indeed, take a pride in contrasting the conduct of the British regulars, who had been ambuscaded on the Monongahela, with that of the Provincials (under Johnson) who, having been attacked in their lines, gallantly repulsed the enemy, and took their general prisoner, did I consider

myself at liberty to swell this essay with reflections on events, in which Putnam was not directly concerned. The time for which the colonial troops engaged to serve terminated with the campaign. Putnam was reappointed, and again took the field in 1756.

Few are so ignorant of war as not to know, that military adventures, in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at *the Ovens* near *Ticonderoga*, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these orders, he narrowly missed being taken himself in the first instance, and killing his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and Provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy's scouts and patroles. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational; they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance, and posted their centinels in the surrounding darkness. Our partizans approached the camp, and supposing the centries were within the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The centinels, discovering them, fired and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Put-

nam had no alterative. They fled. The latter, being foremost and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay-pit. Durkee, almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam, by no means pleased at finding a companion, and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow, when Durkee, (who had followed so closely as to know him) enquired, whether he had escaped unhurt. Captain Putnam instantly recognizing the voice, dropped his weapon: and both, springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighbouring ledges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged the remainder of the night. Before they lay down, Captain Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable or necessary; but on examining the canteen, which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left. The next day he found fourteen bullet holes in his blanket.

In the same summer a body of the enemy, consisting of 600 men, attacked the baggage and provision waggons at a place called the half-way-brook; it being equi-distant from Fort Edward, and the south end of Lake George. Having killed the oxen and plundered the waggons, they retreated with their booty without having met with such resistance

as might have been expected from the strength of the escort. General Webb, upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, ordered the Captains Putnam and Rogers "to take 100 vol-"unteers in boats, with two wall-pieces and "two blunderbusses, and to proceed down "Lake George to a certain point: there to "leave the batteaux under a proper guard, "and thence to cross by land, so as to harrass, "and, if practicable, intercept the retreating "enemy at the narrows." These orders were executed with so much punctuality, that the party arrived at the destined place half an hour before the hostile boats came in view. Here they waited, under cover, until the enemy (ignorant of these proceedings) entered the narrows with their batteaux loaded with plunder. Then the volunteers poured upon them volley after volley, killed many of the oarsmen, sunk a number of their batteaux, and would soon have destroyed the whole body of the enemy, had not the unusual precipitancy of their passage (favoured by the wind) carried them through the narrows into the wide part of South Bay, where they were out of the reach of musket-shot. The shattered remnant of the little fleet soon arrived at Ticonderoga, and gave information that Putnam and Rogers were at the narrows. A fresh party was instantly detached to cut them in pieces, on their return to Fort-Edward. Our partizans, sensible of the probability of such an attempt, and being full twenty miles from their

boats, strained evey nerve to reach them as soon as possible; which they effected the same night. Next day, when they had returned as far as Sabbath-Day point, they discovered, on shore, the beforementioned detachment of 300 men, who had passed them in the night, and who now, on perceiving our party, took to their boats with the greatest alacrity, and rowed out to give battle. They advanced in line, maintaining a good mein, and felicitating themselves upon the prospect of an easy conquest, from the great superiority of their numbers. Flushed with these expectations, they were permitted to come within pistol-shot before a gun was fired. At once, the wall-pieces and blunderbusses, which had been brought to rake them in the most vulnerable point, were discharged. As no such reception had been foreseen, the assailants were thrown into the utmost disorder. Their terror and confusion were greatly increased by a well-directed and most destructive fire of the small arms. The larger pieces being reloaded, without annoyance, continued alternately with the musquetry to make dreadful havoc, until the rout was completed and the enemy driven back to Ticonderoga. In this action, one of the bark canoes contained twenty Indians, of whom fifteen were killed. Great numbers, from other boats, both of French and Indians, were seen to fall overboard: but the account of their total loss could never be ascertained. Rogers and Putnam had but one man killed, and two

slightly wounded. They now landed on the point, and having refreshed their men at leisure, returned in good order to the British camp.

Soon after these rencounters, as ingular kind of race was run by our nimble-footed Provincial and an active young Frenchman. The liberty of each was by turns at stake. General Webb, wanting a prisoner for the sake of intelligence, sent Capt. Putnam with five men to procure one. The Captain concealed himself near the road which leads from Ticonderoga to the Ovens. His men seemed fond of shewing themselves, which unsoldierlike conduct he prohibited with the severest reprehension. This rebuke they imputed to unnecessary fear. The observation is as true as vulgar, that persons distinguishable for temerity, when there is no apparent danger, are generally poltroons whenever danger approaches. They had not lain long, in the high grass, before a Frenchman and an Indian passed—the Indian was considerably in advance. As soon as the former had gone by, Putnam, relying on the fidelity of his men, sprang up, ran, and ordered them to follow. After running about thirty rods, he seized the Frenchman by the shoulders, and forced him to surrender: But his prisoner, looking round, perceiving no other enemy, and knowing the Indian would be ready in a moment to assist him, began to make an obstinate resistance. Putnam, finding himself betrayed by his men

into a perilous dilemma, let go his hold, stepped back and snapped his piece, which was levelled at the Frenchman's breast. It missed fire. Upon this he thought it most prudent to retreat. The Frenchman, in turn, chased him back to his men, who, at last, raised themselves from the grass; which his pursuer espying in good time for himself, made his escape. Putnam, mortified that these men had frustrated his success, dismissed them with disgrace; and not long after accomplished his object. Such little feats, as the capture of a single prisoner, may be of infinitely more consequence than some, who are unacquainted with military affairs, would be apt to imagine. In a country covered with woods, like that part of America, then the seat of war, the difficulty of procuring, and the importance of possessing good intelligence, can scarcely be conceived even by European commanders. They, however, who know its value, will not appreciate lightly the services of an able partizan.

Nothing worthy of remark happened during this campaign, except the loss of Oswego. That fort, which had been built by General Shirley, to protect the peltry trade, cover the country on the Mohawk-River, and facilitate an invasion of Canada, by Frontenac and Niagara, fell into the hands of the enemy, with a garrison of sixteen hundred men, and one hundred pieces of cannon.

The active services of Captain Putnam on every occasion attracted the admiration of the

public, and induced the Legislature of Connecticut to promote him to a majority in 1757.

Lord Loudon was then Commander in Chief of the British forces in America. The expedition against Crown-Point, which from the commencement of hostilities had been in contemplation, seemed to give place to a more important operation that was meditated against Louisbourg. But the arrival of the Brest squadron at that place prevented the attempt; and the loss of Fort William Henry served to class this with the two former unsuccessful campaigns. It was rumoured, and partially credited at the time, that General Webb, who commanded in the northern department, had early intimation of the movement of the French army, and might have effectually succoured the garrison. The subsequent facts will place the affair in its proper light.

A few days before the seige, Major Putnam, with two hundred men, escorted General Webb from Fort Edward to Fort William Henry. The object was to examine the state of this fortification, which stood at the southern extremity of Lake George. Several abortive attempts having been made by Major Rogers and others in the night season, Major Putnam proposed to go down the lake in open day-light, land at Northwest-Bay, and tarry on shore until he could make satisfactory discovery of the enemy's actual situation at Ticonderoga and the adjacent posts. The plan (which he suggested) of landing with only five men,

and sending back the boats, to prevent detection, was deemed too hazardous by the General. At length, however, he was permitted to proceed with eighteen volunteers in three whale boats; but before he arrived at Northwest-Bay he discovered a body of men on an island. Immediately upon this, he left two boats to fish at a distance, that they might not occasion an alarm, and returned himself with the information. The General, seeing him rowing back with great velocity, in a single boat, concluded the others were captured, and sent a skiff, with orders for him alone to come on shore. After advising the General of the circumstances, he urged the expediency of returning to make further discoveries, and bring off the boats. Leave was reluctantly given. He found his people, and, passing still onward, discovered (by the aid of a good perspective glass) a large army in motion. By this time several of the advanced canoes had nearly surrounded him, but by the swiftness of his whale-boats, he escaped through the midst of them. On his return he informed the General minutely of all he had seen, and intimated his conviction that the expedition must obviously be destined against Fort William Henry. That commander, strictly enjoining silence on the subject, directed him to put his men under an oath of secrecy, and to prepare, without loss of time, to return to the Head Quarters of the army. Major Putnam observed, "he hoped "his Excellency did not intend to neglect so

"fair an opportunity of giving battle, should "the enemy presume to land." "What do you "think we should do here?" replied the General. Accordingly the next day he returned, and the day after Colonel Monro was ordered from Fort Edward, with his regiment, to reinforce the garrison. That officer took with him all his rich baggage and camp equipage, notwithstanding Major Putnam's advice to the contrary. The day following his arrival, the enemy landed and besieged the place.

The Marquis de Montcalm, Commander in Chief for the French in Canada (intending to take advantage of the absence of a large proportion of the British force, which he understood to be employed under Lord Loudon against Louisbourg) had assembled whatever men could be spared from Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and the other garrisons: with these he had combined a considerable corps of Canadians, and a larger body of Indians than had ever before been collected; making in the whole an army of nearly eight thousand men. Our garrison consisted of twenty-five hundred, and was commanded by Colonel Monro, a very gallant officer, who found the means of sending express after express to General Webb, with an account of his situation, and the most pressing solicitation for succour. In the mean time, the army at Fort Edward, which, originally amounted to about four thousand, had been considerably augmented by Johnson's troops and the militia. On the 8th or 9th day after the landing of the French, General

Johnson (in consequence of repeated applications) was suffered to march for the relief of the garrison, with all the Provincials, Militia, and Putnam's Rangers: but before they had proceeded three miles, the order was countermanded, and they returned. M. de Montcalm informed Major Putnam, when a prisoner in Canada, that one of his running Indians saw and reported this movement; and, upon being questioned relatively to the numbers, answered in their figurative style, "*If you can count the leaves on the trees, you can count them.*" In effect, the operations of the siege were suspended, and preparations made for re-embarking, when another of the runners reported that the detachment had gone back. The Marquis de Montcalm, provided with a good train of artillery, meeting with no annoyance from the British army, and but inconsiderable interruption from the garrison, accelerated his approaches so rapidly, as to obtain possession of the fort in a short time after completing the investiture. An intercepted letter from General Webb, advising the surrender, was sent into the fort to Colonel Monro by the French General.

The garrison engaged not to serve for eighteen months, and were permitted to march out with the honours of war. But the savages regarded not the capitulation, nor could they be restrained by the utmost exertion of the Commanding Officer, from committing the most outrageous acts of cruelty. They strip-

ped and plundered all the prisoners, and murdered great numbers in cold blood. Those who escaped by flight, or the protection of the French, arrived in a forlorn condition at Fort Edward: Among these was the commandant of the garrison.

The day succeeding this deplorable scene of carnage and barbarity, Major Putnam having been dispatched with his Rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy, came to the shore, when their rear was scarcely beyond the reach of musket-shot. They had carried off all the cannon, stores and water-craft. The fort was demolished. The barracks, the out-houses and suttlers' booths were heaps of ruins. The fires, not yet extinct, and the smoke, offensive from the mucilaginous nature of the fuel, but illy concealed innumerable fragments of human skulls and bones, and, in some instances, carcases half-consumed. Dead bodies, weltering in blood, were every where to be seen, violated, with all the wanton mutilations of savage ingenuity. More than one hundred women, some with their brains still oozing from the battered heads, others with their whole hair wrenched collectively with the skin from the bloody skulls, and many (with their throats cut) most inhumanly stabbed and butchered, lay stripped entirely naked, with their bowels torn out, and afforded a spectacle too horrible for description.

Not long after this misfortune, General Lyman succeeded to the command of Fort Ed-

ward. He resolved to strengthen it. For this purpose one hundred and fifty men were employed in cutting timber. To cover them, Captain Little was posted (with fifty British Regulars) at the head of a thick swamp about one hundred rods eastward of the fort—to which his communication lay over a tongue of land, formed on the one side by the swamp, and by a creek on the other.

One morning, at day break, a centinel saw indistinctly several birds, as he conceived, come from the swamp and fly over him with incredible swiftness. While he was ruminating on these wonderful birds, and endeavouring to form some idea of their colour, shape and size, an arrow buried itself in the limb of a tree just above his head. He now discovered the quality and design of these winged messengers of fate, and gave the alarm. Instantly the working party began to retreat along the defile. A large body of savages had concealed themselves in the morass before the guard was posted, and were attempting in this way to kill the centinel without noise, with design to surprise the whole party. Finding the alarm given, they rushed from the covert, shot and tomahawked those who were nearest at hand, and pressed hard on the remainder of the unarmed fugitives. Captain Little flew to their relief, and, by pouring on the Indians a well timed fire, checked the pursuit, and enabled such of the fatigue-men as did not fall in the first onset, to retire to the fort. Thither he sent for assist-

ance, his little party being almost overpowered by numbers. But the commandant, imagining that the main body of the enemy were approaching for a general assault, called in his out-posts and shut the gates.

Major Putnam lay, with his Rangers, on an island adjacent to the fort. Having heard the musquetry, and learned that his friend Captain Little was in the utmost peril, he plunged into the river at the head of his corps, and waded through the water towards the place of engagement. This brought him so near to the fort, that General Lyman apprized of his design, and unwilling that the lives of a few more brave men should be exposed to what he deemed inevitable destruction, mounted the parapet and ordered him to proceed no further. The major only took time to make the best short apology he could, and marched on. This is the only instance in the whole course of his military service wherein he did not pay the strictest obedience to orders; and in this instance his motive was highly commendable. But when such conduct, even if sanctified by success, is passed over with impunity, it demonstrates that all is not right in the military system. In a disciplined army, such as that of the United States became under General Washington, an officer guilty of a slighter violation of orders, however elevated in rank or meritorious in service, would have been brought before the bar of a Court Martial. Were it not for the seductive tendency

of a brave man's example, I might have been spared the mortification of making these remarks on the conduct of an officer, whose distinguishing characteristics were promptitude for duty and love of subordination, as well as cheerfulness to encounter every species of difficulty and danger.

The Rangers of Putnam soon opened their way for a junction with the little handful of Regulars, who still obstinately maintained their ground. By his advice the whole rushed impetuously with shouts and huzzas into the swamp. The savages fled on every side, and were chased, with no inconsiderable loss on their part, as long as the day-light lasted. On ours only one man was killed in the pursuit. His death was immediately revenged by that of the Indian who shot him. This Indian was one of the runners—a chosen body of active young men, who are made use of not only to procure intelligence and convey tidings, but also to guard the rear on a retreat.

Here it will not be unseasonable to mention some of the customs in war peculiar to the aborigines, which on the present as well as other occasions, they put in practice. Whenever a retreating, especially a flying party had gained the summit of a rising ground, they secreted one or two runners behind trees, copses, or bushes to fire at the enemy upon their ascending the hill. This commonly accasioned the enemy to halt and form for battle. In the interim the runners used such dexterity

as to be rarely discovered, or if discovered, they vanished behind the height and rejoined their brother warriors, who, having thus stolen a distance, were oftentimes seen by their pursuers no more. Or if the pursuers were too eager they seldom failed to atone for their rashness by falling into an ambuscade. The Mohawks, who were afterwards much employed in scouts under the orders of Major Putnam, and who were perfectly versed in all the wiles and stratagems of their countrymen, shewed him the mode of avoiding the evils of either alternative. In suspicious thickets, and at the borders of every considerable eminence, a momentary pause was made, while they, in different parts, penetrated or ascended with a cautiousness that cannot be easily described. They seemed all eye and ear. When they found no lurking mischief, they would beckon with the hand, and pronounce the word "Owish," with a long labial hissing, the *O* being almost quiescent. This was ever the watch-word for the main body to advance.

Indians who went to war together, and who, for any reason found it necessary to separate into different routes, always left two or three runners at the place of separation, to give timely notice to either party in case of pursuit.

If a warrior chanced to straggle and lose himself in the woods, or be retarded by accident or wound, the party missing him would frequently, on their march, break down a

bush or a shrub, and leave the top pointing in the direction they had gone, that the straggler, when he should behold it, might shape his course accordingly.

We come to the campaign when General Abercrombie took the command at Fort Edward. That General ordered Major Putnam, with sixty men, to proceed by land to South-Bay, on Lake George, for the purpose of making discoveries, and intercepting the enemy's parties. The latter, in compliance with these orders, posted himself at Wood-Creek, near its entrance into South-Bay. On this bank, which forms a jutting precipice ten or twelve feet above the water, he erected a stone parapet thirty feet in length, and masked it with young pine-trees, cut at a distance, and so artfully planted as to imitate the natural growth. From hence he sent back fifteen of his men, who had fallen sick. Distress for want of provisions, occasioned by the length of march, and time spent on this temporary fortification, compelled him to deviate from a rule he had established, never to permit a gun to be fired but at an enemy while on a scout. He was now obliged himself to shoot a buck, which had jumped into the creek, in order to eke out their scanty subsistence until the fourth day after the completion of the works. About ten o'clock that evening, one of the men on duty at the margin of the bay, informed him that a fleet of bark canoes, filled with men, was steering towards the mouth of the creek.

He immediately called in all his centinels, and ordered every man to his post. A profound stillness reigned in the atmosphere, and the full moon shone with uncommon brightness. The creek, which the enemy entered, is about six rods wide, and the bank opposite to the parapet above twenty feet high. It was intended to permit the canoes in front to pass—they had accordingly just passed, when a soldier accidentally struck his firelock against a stone. The commanding officer in the van canoe heard the noise, and repeated several times the savage watch-word,—Owish! Instantly the canoes huddled together, with their centre precisely in front of the works, covering the creek for a considerable distance above and below. The officers appeared to be in deep consultation, and the fleet on the point of returning, when Major Putnam, who had ordered his men in the most peremptory manner not to fire until he should set the example, gave the signal, by discharging his piece. They fired. Nothing could exceed the inextricable confusion and apparent consternation occasioned by this well-concerted attack. But, at last, the enemy finding, from the unfrequency (though there was no absolute intermission) in the firing, that the number of our men must be small, resolved to land below and surround them. Putnam, apprehensive of this from the movement, sent Lieutenant Robert Durkee,*

* As the name of the brave Durkee will occur no more in these sheets, I may be indulged in mentioning his melancholy fate. He

with twelve men, about thirty rods down the creek, who arrived in time to repulse the party which attempted to land. Another small detachment, under Lieutenant Parsons, was ordered up the creek to prevent any similar attempt. In the mean time Major Putnam kept up, through the whole night, an incessant and deadly fire on the main body of the enemy, without receiving any thing in return but shot void of effect, accompanied with dolorous groans, miserable shrieks, and dismal savage yells. After day-break he was advised that one part of the enemy had effected a landing considerably below, and were rapidly advancing to cut off his retreat. Apprised of the great superiority still opposed to him, as well as of the situation of his own soldiers, some of whom were entirely destitute of ammunition, and the rest reduced to one or two rounds per man, he commanded them to swing their packs. By hastening the retreat, in good order, they had just time to retire far enough up the creek to prevent being enclosed. During this long-continued action, in which the Americans had slain at least five times their own number, only one Provincial and one Indian were wounded on their side. These unfortunate men had been sent off for camp in the

survived this war, and was appointed a Captain in that war which terminated in the acknowledgment of our Independence. In 1778 he was wounded and taken prisoner by the savages at the battle of Wioming, on the Susquehannah. Having been condemned to be burnt, the Indians kept him in the flames with pitch-forks, until he expired in the most excruciating torments.

night, with two men to assist them, and directions to proceed by Wood-Creek as the safest, though not the shortest route. But having taken a nearer way, they were pursued and overtaken by the Indians, who, from the blood on the leaves and bushes, believed that they were on the trail of our whole party. The wounded, despairing of mercy, and unable to fly, insisted that the well soldiers should make their escape, which, on a moment's deliberation, they effected. The Provincial, whose thigh was broken by a ball, upon the approach of the savages, fired his piece, and killed three of them; after which he was quickly hacked in pieces. The Indian, however, was saved alive. This man Major Putnam saw afterwards in Canada, where he likewise learned that his enemy, in the rencounter at Wood-Creek, consisted of five hundred French and Indians, under the command of the celebrated partizan Molang, and that no party, since the war, had suffered so severely, as more than one-half of those who went out never returned.

Our brave little company, reduced to forty in number, had proceeded along the bank of the creek about an hour's march, when Major Putnam, being in front, was fired upon by a party just at hand. He, rightly appreciating the advantage often obtained by assuming a bold countenance on a critical occasion, in a stentorophonick tone, ordered his men to rush on the enemy, and promised that they should

soon give a good account of them. It proved to be a scout of Provincials, who conceived they were firing upon the French; but the commanding officer, knowing Putnam's voice, cried out, "that they were all friends."—Upon this the Major told him abruptly, "that, friends or enemies, they all deserved to be hanged for not killing more when they had so fair a shot." In fact, but one man was mortally wounded. While these things were transacted, a faithful soldier, whose ammunition had been nearly exhausted, made his way to the fort, and gave such information, that General Lyman was detached with five hundred men to cover the retreat. Major Putnam met them at only twelve miles distance from the fort, to which they returned the next day.

In the winter of 1757, when Colonel Haviland was Commandant at Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the north-west bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the magazine, which contained three hundred barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The Commandant endeavoured, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them with the ground. Putnam arrived from the island where he was stationed at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the magazine. Instantly a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the

conflagration. A way was opened by a postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water; which he, having mounted on a ladder to the eves of the building, received and threw upon the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of thick blanket mittens were burnt entirely from his hands; he was supplied with another pair dipt in water. Colonel Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down. But he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant Commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed, "if we must be blown up, we will go all together." At last, when the barracks were seen to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and

the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one hour and an half with that terrible element. His legs, his thighs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The Commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude, due to the man who had been so instrumental in preserving the magazine, the fort, and the garrison.

The repulse before Ticonderoga took place in 1758. General Abercrombie, the British Commander in Chief in America, conducted the expedition. His army, which amounted to nearly sixteen thousand Regulars and Provincials, was amply supplied with artillery and military stores. This well-appointed corps passed over Lake George, and landed, without opposition, at the point of destination. The troops advanced in columns. Lord Howe, having Major Putnam with him, was in front of the centre. A body of about five hundred men, (the advance or pickets of the French army) which had fled at first, began to skirmish with our left. "Putnam," said Lord Howe, "what means that firing?" "I know not, but with your Lordship's leave will see," replied the former. "I will accompany you," rejoined the gallant young nobleman. In vain did Major Putnam attempt to dissuade him by

saying—"My Lord, if I am killed, the loss of my life will be of little consequence, but the preservation of your's is of infinite importance to this army." The only answer was, "Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me; I am determined to go." One hundred of the van, under Major Putnam, filed off with Lord Howe. They soon met the left flank of the enemy's advance, by whose first fire his Lordship fell.—It was a loss indeed; and particularly felt in the operations which occurred three days afterwards. His manners and his virtues had made him the idol of the army. From his first arrival in America, he had accommodated himself* and his regiment to the peculiar nature of the service. Exemplary to the officer, a friend of the soldier, the model of discipline, he had not failed to encounter every hardship and hazard. Nothing could be more calculated to inspire men with the rash animation of rage, or to temper it with the cool perseverance of revenge, than the sight of such a hero, so beloved, fallen in his country's cause. It had the effect. Putnam's party, having cut their way obliquely through the enemy's ranks, and having been joined by Captain D'Ell, with twenty men, together with some other small parties, charged them so furiously in rear, that nearly three

* He cut his hair short, and induced the regiment to follow the example. He fashioned their cloathing for the activity of service, and divested himself and them of every article of superfluous baggage.

hundred were killed on the spot, and one hundred and forty-eight made prisoners.

In the mean time, from the unskilfulness of the guides, some of our columns were bewildered. The left wing, seeing Putnam's party in their front, advancing over the dead bodies towards them, commenced a brisk and heavy fire, which killed a serjeant and several privates. Nor could they, by sounds or signs, be convinced of their mistake, until Major Putnam, preferring (if heaven had thus ordained it) the loss of his own life to the loss of the lives of his brave associates, ran through the midst of the flying balls, and prevented the impending catastrophe.

The tender feelings which Major Putnam possessed taught him to respect an unfortunate foe, and to strive, by every lenient art in his power, to alleviate the miseries of war. For this purpose he remained on the field until it began to grow dark, employed in collecting such of the enemy as were left wounded, to one place; he gave them all the liquor and little refreshments which he could procure; he furnished to each of them a blanket; he put three blankets under a French serjeant who was badly wounded through the body, and placed him in an easy posture by the side of a tree: the poor fellow could only squeeze his hand with an expressive grasp. "Ah," said Major Putnam, "depend upon it, my brave soldier, you shall be brought to the

camp as soon as possible, and the same care shall be taken of you as if you were my brother." The next morning Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field, and to bring off the wounded prisoners; but finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he despatched every one of them to the world of spirits. Putnam's was not the only heart that bled. The Provincial and British officers, who became acquainted with the fact, were struck with inexpressible horror.

Ticonderoga is surrounded on three sides by water; on the fourth, for some distance, extends a dangerous morass; the remainder was then fortified with a line eight feet high, and planted with artillery. For one hundred yards in front the plain was covered with great trees, cut for the purpose of defence, whose interwoven and sharpened branches projected outwards. Notwithstanding these impediments, the engineer who had been employed to reconnoitre, reported as his opinion, that the works might be carried with musketry. The difficulty and delay of dragging the battering cannon over grounds almost impracticable, induced the adoption of this fatal advice—to which, however, a rumour that the garrison, already consisting of four or five thousand men, was on the point of being augmented with three thousand more, probably contributed. The attack was as spirited in

execution as ill-judged in design. The assailants, after having been for more than four hours exposed to a most fatal fire, without making any impression by their reiterated and obstinate proofs of valour, were ordered to retreat. Major Putnam, who had acted as an aid in bringing the Provincial regiments successively to action, assisted in preserving order. It was said that a great number of the enemy were shot in the head, every other part having been concealed behind their works. The loss on our side was upwards of two thousand killed and wounded. Twenty-five hundred stands of arms were taken by the French. Our army, after sustaining this havock, retreated with such extraordinary precipitation, that they regained their camp at the southward of Lake George the evening after the action.

The successes in other parts of America made amends for this defeat. Louisbourg, after a vigorous siege, was reduced by the Generals Amherst and Wolf: Frontenac, a post of importance on the communication between Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, surrendered to Colonel Bradstreet: and Fort Du Quesne, situated at the confluence of Monongahela with the Ohio, (the possession of which had kindled the flame of war that now spread through the four quarters of the globe) was captured by General Forbes.

A few adventures, in which the public interests were little concerned, but which, from their peculiarity, appear worthy of being preserved, happened before the conclusion of the year. As one day Major Putnam chanced to lie with a batteau and five men, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, near the Rapids, contiguous to which Fort Miller stood, his men on the opposite bank had given him to understand, that a large body of savages were in his rear, and would be upon him in a moment. To stay and be sacrificed—to attempt crossing and be shot—or to go down to the falls, with an almost absolute certainty of being drowned, were the sole alternatives that presented themselves to his choice. So instantaneously was the latter adopted, that one man who had rambled a little from the party, was, of necessity, left, and fell a miserable victim to savage barbarity. The Indians arrived on the shore soon enough to fire many balls on the batteau before it could be got under way. No sooner had our batteau-men escaped, by favour of the rapidity of the current, beyond the reach of musket-shot, than death seemed only to have been avoided in one form to be encountered in another not less terrible. Prominent rocks, latent shelves, absorbing eddies, and abrupt descents, for a quarter of a mile, afforded scarcely the smallest chance of escaping without a miracle. Putnam, trusting himself to a good Providence, whose kindness he had often

experienced, rather than to men, whose tenderest mercies are cruelty, was now seen to place himself sedately at the helm, and afford an astonishing spectacle of serenity. His companions, with a mixture of terror, admiration and wonder, saw him incessantly changing the course, to avoid the jaws of ruin, that seemed expanded to swallow the whirling boat. Twice he turned it fairly round to shun the rifts of rocks. Amidst these eddies, in which there was the greatest danger of its foundering, at one moment the sides were exposed to the fury of the waves; then the stern, and next the bow glanced obliquely onward, with inconceivable velocity.—With not less amazement the savages beheld him sometimes mounting the billows, then plunging abruptly down, at other times skilfully veering from the rocks, and shooting through the only narrow passage; until, at last, they viewed the boat safely gliding on the smooth surface of the stream below. At this sight, it is asserted, that these rude sons of nature were affected with the same kind of superstitious veneration which the Europeans, in the dark ages, entertained for some of their most valorous champions. They deemed the man invulnerable, whom their balls, on his pushing from shore, could not touch; and whom they had seen steering in safety down the rapids that had never before been passed. They conceived it would be an affront against the *Great Spirit* to attempt to kill

this favoured mortal with powder and ball, if they should ever see and know him again.

In the month of August five hundred men were employed, under the orders of Majors Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South-Bay they separated the party into two equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood-Creek, twelve miles distant from Putnam.

Upon being, some time afterwards, discovered, they formed a re-union, and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward. Their march through the woods was *in three divisions by* FILES: the right commanded by Rogers, the left by Putnam, and the centre by Captain D'Ell. The first night they encamped on the banks of *Clear River*, about a mile from old Fort Ann, which had been formerly built by General Nicholson. Next morning Major Rogers, and a British officer named Irwin, incautiously suffered themselves, from a spirit of false emulation, to be engaged in firing at a mark. Nothing could have been more repugnant to the military principles of Putnam than such conduct, or reprobated by him in more pointed terms. As soon as the heavy dew which had fallen the preceding night would permit, the detachment moved in one body, Putnam being in front, D'Ell in centre, and Rogers in the rear. The impervious growth of shrubs and under-brush that had sprung up, where the land had been partially

cleared some years before, occasioned this change in the order of march. At the moment of moving, the famous French partizan Molang, who had been sent with five hundred men to intercept our party, was not more than one mile and an half distant from them. Having heard the firing, he hastened to lay an ambuscade precisely in that part of the wood most favourable to his project. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket, into the common forest, when the enemy rose, and with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack upon the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire, and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, though widely scattered, and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general and intensely warm. It would be as difficult as useless to describe this irregular and ferocious mode of fighting. Rogers came not up; but, as he declared afterwards, formed a circular file between our party and Wood-Creek, to prevent their being taken in rear or enfiladed. Successful as he commonly was, his conduct did not always pass without unfavourable imputation. Notwithstanding, it was a current saying in the camp, "that Rogers always *sent*, but Putnam *led* his men to action," yet, in justice, it ought to be remarked here, that the latter has never been known, in relating the story of this day's

disaster, to affix any stigma upon the conduct of the former.

Major Putnam, perceiving it would be impracticable to cross the creek, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery: sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover; taking aim from behind the bodies of trees, and acting in a manner independent of each other. For himself, having discharged his fuzee several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well proportioned savage. This *warrior*, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-hoop, sprang forward, with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender; and having disarmed and bound him fast to a tree, returned to the battle.

The intrepid Captains D'Ell and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance: the savages, conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partizans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot at which the action had commenced Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied to

be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour. So equally balanced, and so obstinate was the fight! At one moment, while the battle swerved in favour of the enemy, a young savage chose an odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound. He might have dispatched him at a blow. But he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head, or rather it should seem his object was to see how near he could throw it without touching him—the weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French bas-officer (a much more inveterate savage by nature, though descended from so humane and polished a nation)perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fuzee within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire. Ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honour or of nature: deaf to their

voice, and dead to sensibility, he violently, and repeatedly, pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the but-end of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman,* seconded by the persevering valour of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord. After he had marched, through no pleasant paths, in this painful manner, for many a tedious mile, the party (who were excessively fatigued) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature; and the pain had become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated the Irish

* This worthy officer is still living (1788) at Marlborough in the State of Massachusetts.

interpreter to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the savages, that they would knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time the Indian who captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of mocasons, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

That savage chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom, besides innumerable other outrages, they had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound with the tomahawk in the left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A

sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things—when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself—to whom a savage, unwilling to see another human sa-

crifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal powwas and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained until he could deliver him in safety into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to loose his captive (the refreshment being finished) he took the mocasons from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists: then directing him to lie down on his back upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree; the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable

and painful posture he remained until morning. During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous group for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and mocasons, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard. The savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took other opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity, and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Ma-

jor Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a Provincial Major in his custody? He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat, or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed with wounds and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner and the meekness of a christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, cloathed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed.

The capture of Frontenac by General Bradstreet afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive if it should be known that Putnam was a distinguished partizan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers who, from the length of their captivity, had a claim of priority to exchange, he had, by his happy address, induced the governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate should be included in the

present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object, he expressed his warmest acknowledgments to the governor, and said, "There is an old man here, who is a Provincial Major, and wishes to be at home with his wife and children; he can do no good here or any where else: I believe your Excellency had better keep some of the young men, who have no wife or children to care for, and let the old fellow go home with me." This justifiable finesse had the desired effect.

At the house of Colonel Schuyler, Major Putnam became acquainted with Mrs. Howe, a fair captive, whose history would not be read without emotion, if it could be written in the same affecting manner in which I have often heard it told. She was still young and handsome herself, though she had two daughters of marriageable age. Distress, which had taken somewhat from the original redundancy of her bloom, and added a softening paleness to her cheeks, rendered her appearance the more engaging. Her face, that seemed to have been formed for the assemblage of dimples and smiles, was clouded with care. The natural sweetness was not, however, soured by despondency and petulance, but chastened by humility and resignation. This mild daughter of sorrow looked as if she had known the day of prosperity, when serenity and gladness of soul were the inmates of her bosom. That

day was past, and the once lively features now assumed a tender melancholy, which witnessed her irreparable loss. She needed not the customary weeds of mourning, or the fallacious pageantry of woe, to prove her widowed state. She was in that stage of affliction when the excess is so far abated as to permit the subject to be drawn into conversation, without opening the wound afresh. It is then rather a source of pleasure than pain to dwell upon the circumstances in narration. Every thing conspired to make her story interesting. Her first husband had been killed and scalped by the Indians some years before. By an unexpected assault, in 1756, upon Fort Dummer, where she then happened to be present with Mr. Howe, her second husband, the savages carried the fort, murdered the greater part of the garrison, mangled in death her husband, and led her away with seven children into captivity. She was for some months kept with them; and during their rambles she was frequently on the point of perishing with hunger, and as often subjected to hardships seemingly intolerable to one of so delicate a frame. Some time after the career of her miseries began, the Indians selected a couple of their young men to marry her daughters. The fright and disgust which the intelligence of this intention occasioned to these poor young creatures, added infinitely to the sorrows and perplexities of their frantic mother. To pre-

vent the hated connexion, all the activity of female resource was called into exertion. She found an opportunity of conveying to the governor a petition, that her daughters might be received into a convent for the sake of securing the salvation of their souls. Happily the pious fraud succeeded.

About the same time the savages separated, and carried off her other five children into different tribes. She was ransomed by an elderly French officer for four hundred livres. Of no avail were the cries of this tender mother—a mother desolated by the loss of her children, who were thus torn from her fond embraces, and removed many hundred miles from each other, into the utmost recesses of Canada. With them (could they have been kept together) she would most willingly have wandered to the extremities of the world, and accepted as a desirable portion the cruel lot of slavery for life. But she was precluded from the sweet hope of ever beholding them again. The insufferable pang of parting, and the idea of eternal separation, planted the arrows of despair deep in her soul. Though all the world was no better than a desert, and all its inhabitants were then indifferent to her, yet the loveliness of her appearance in sorrow had awakened affections, which, in the aggravation of her troubles, were to become a new source of afflictions.

The officer who bought her of the Indians had a son who also held a commission, and

resided with his father. During her continuance in the same house, at St. John's, the double attachment of the father and the son rendered her situation extremely distressing. It is true, the calmness of age delighted to gaze respectfully on her beauty; but the impetuosity of youth was fired to madness by the sight of her charms. One day, the son, whose attentions had been long lavished upon her in vain, finding her alone in a chamber, forcibly seized her hand, and solemnly declared that he would now satiate the passion which she had so long refused to indulge. She recurred to entreaties, struggles, and tears, those prevalent female weapons which the distraction of danger not less than the promptness of genius is wont to supply; while he, in the delirium of vexation and desire, snatched a dagger, and swore he would put an end to her life if she persisted to struggle. Mrs. Howe, assuming the dignity of conscious virtue, told him it was what she most ardently wished, and begged him to plunge the poignard through her heart, since the mutual importunities and jealousies of such rivals had rendered her life, though innocent, more irksome and insupportable than death itself. Struck with a momentary compunction, he seemed to relent, and relax his hold; and she, availing herself of his irresolution, or absence of mind, escaped down the stairs. In her disordered state she told the whole transaction to his father, who directed

her, in future, to sleep in a small bed at the foot of that in which his wife lodged. The affair soon reached the governor's ears, and the young officer was, shortly afterwards, sent on a tour of duty to Detroit.

This gave her a short respite; but she dreaded his return, and the humiliating insults for which she might be reserved. Her children, too, were ever present to her melancholy mind. A stranger, a widow, a captive, she knew not where to apply for relief. She had heard of the name of Schuyler—she was yet to learn, that it was only another appellation for the friend of suffering humanity. As that excellent man was on his way from Quebec to the Jerseys, under a parole, for a limited time, she came, with feeble and trembling steps, to him. The same maternal passion which sometimes overcomes the timidity of nature in the birds, when plundered of their callow nestlings, emboldened her, notwithstanding her native diffidence, to disclose those griefs which were ready to devour her in silence. While her delicate aspect was heightened to a glowing blush, for fear of offending by an inexcusable importunity, or of transgressing the rules of propriety, by representing herself as being an object of admiration, she told, with artless simplicity, all the story of her woes. Colonel Schuyler, from that moment, became her protector, and endeavoured to procure her liberty. The per-

son who purchased her from the savages, unwilling to part with so fair a purchase, demanded a thousand livres as her ransom. But Colonel Schuyler, on his return to Quebec, obtained from the governor an order, in consequence of which Mrs. Howe was given up to him for four hundred livres; nor did his active goodness rest until every one of her five sons was restored to her.

Business having made it necessary that Colonel Schuyler should precede the prisoners who were exchanged, he recommended the fair captive to the protection of his friend Putnam. She had just recovered from the measles when the party was preparing to set off for New-England. By this time the young French officer had returned, with his passion rather increased than abated by absence. He pursued her wheresoever she went, and, although he could make no advances in her affection, he seemed resolved, by perseverance, to carry his point. Mrs. Howe, terrified by his treatment, was obliged to keep constantly near Major Putnam, who informed the young officer that he should protect that lady at the risk of his life.*

In the long march from captivity, through an inhospitable wilderness, encumbered with five small children, she suffered incredible

* Two or three incidents respecting Mrs. Howe, which were received by the author from General Putnam, and inserted in the former editions, are omitted in this, as they appeared, on farther information, to be mistakes.

hardships. Though endowed with masculine fortitude, she was truly feminine in strength, and must have fainted by the way, had it not been for the assistance of Major Putnam. There were a thousand good offices which the helplessness of her condition demanded, and which the gentleness of his nature delighted to perform. He assisted in leading her little ones, and in carrying them over the swampy grounds and runs of water, with which their course was frequently intersected. He mingled his own mess with that of the widow and the fatherless, and assisted them in supplying and preparing their provisions. Upon arriving within the settlements, they experienced a reciprocal regret at separation, and were only consoled by the expectation of soon mingling in the embraces of their former acquaintances and dearest connexions.

After the conquest of Canada, in 1760, she made a journey to Quebec, in order to bring back her two daughters, whom she had left in a convent. She found one of them married to a French officer. The other having contracted a great fondness for the religious sisterhood, with reluctance consented to leave them and return.

We now arrive at the period when the prowess of Britain, victorious alike by sea and by land, in the new and in the old world, had elevated that name to the zenith of national glory. The conquest of Quebec opened the

way for the total reduction of Canada. On the side of the Lakes, Amherst having captured the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, applied himself to strengthen the latter. Putnam, who had been raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and present at these operations, was employed the remainder of this and some part of the succeeding season, in superintending the parties which were detached to procure timber and other materials for the fortification.

In 1760, General Amherst, a sagacious, humane, and experienced commander, planned the termination of the war in Canada, by a bloodless conquest. For this purpose, three armies were destined to co-operate, by different routes, against Montreal, the only remaining place of strength the enemy held in that country. The corps formerly commanded by General Wolfe, now by General Murray, was ordered to ascend the river St. Lawrence; another, under Colonel Haviland, to penetrate by the Isle Aux Noix; and the third, consisting of about ten thousand men, commanded by the General himself, after passing up the Mohawk-River, and taking its course by the Lake Ontario, was to form a junction by falling down the St. Lawrence. In this progress, more than one occasion presented itself to manifest the intrepidity and soldiership of Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam. Two armed vessels obstructed the passage, and prevented the

At no great distance from Montreal stands the savage village called Cochnawaga. Here our partizan found the Indian chief who had formerly made him prisoner. That Indian was highly delighted to see his old acquaintance, whom he entertained in his own well-built stone house with great friendship and hospitality; while his guest did not discover less satisfaction in an opportunity of shaking the brave savage by the hand, and proffering him protection in this reverse of his military fortunes.

When the belligerent powers were considerably exhausted, a rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, in the month of January, 1762, and an expedition was formed that campaign, under Lord Albermarle, against the Havannah. A body of Provincials, composed of five hundred men from the Jerseys, eight hundred from New-York, and one thousand from Connecticut, joined his Lordship. General Lyman, who raised the regiment of one thousand men in Connecticut, being the senior officer, commanded the whole: of course, the immediate command of his regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam. The fleet that carried these troops sailed from New-York, and arrived safely on the coast of Cuba. There a terrible storm arose, and the transport in which Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam had embarked with five hundred men, was wrecked on a rift of craggy rocks. The weather was so tempestuous, and the surf,

which ran mountain-high, dashed with such violence against the ship, that the most experienced seaman expected it would soon part asunder. The rest of the fleet, so far from being able to afford assistance, with difficulty rode out the gale. In this deplorable situation, as the only expedient by which they could be saved, strict order was maintained, and all those people who best understood the use of tools, instantly employed in constructing rafts from spars, plank, and whatever other materials could be procured. There happened to be on board a large quantity of strong cords, (the same that are used in the whale fishery) which, being fastened to the rafts, after the first had with inconceivable hazard reached the shore, were of infinite service in preventing the others from driving out to sea, as also in dragging them athwart the billows to the beach; by which means every man was finally saved. With the same presence of mind to take advantage of circumstances, and the same precaution to prevent confusion on similar occasions, how many valuable lives, prematurely lost, might have been preserved as blessings to their families, their friends, and their country! As soon as all were landed, Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam fortified his camp, that he might not be exposed to insult from the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, or from those of Carthagena, who were but twenty-four miles distant. Here the party remained unmolested several days, until the storm had so much

abated as to permit the convoy to take them off. They soon joined the troops before the Havannah, who, having been several weeks in that unhealthy climate, already began to grow extremely sickly.* The opportune arrival of the Provincial reinforcement, in perfect health, contributed not a little to forward the works, and hasten the reduction of that important place. But the Provincials suffered so miserably by sickness afterwards, that very few ever returned to their native land again.

Although a general peace among the European powers was ratified in 1763, yet the savages on our western frontiers still continued their hostilities. After they had taken several posts, General Bradstreet was sent, in 1764, with an army, against them. Colonel Putnam, then, for the first time, appointed to the command of a regiment, was on the expedition, as was the Indian chief whom I have several times had occasion to mention as his capturer, at the head of one hundred Cochnawaga warriors. Before General Bradstreet reached Detroit, which the savages invested, Captain D'Ell, the faithful friend and intrepid fellow-soldier of Colonel Putnam, had been slain

* Colonel Haviland, an accomplished officer, several times mentioned in these memoirs, who brought to America a regiment of one thousand Irish veterans, had but seventy men remaining alive when he left the Havannah. Colonel Haviland, during this siege, having once with his regiment engaged and routed five hundred Spaniards, met Colonel Putnam on his return, and said— "Putnam, give me a pinch of snuff." "I never carry any," returned Putnam. "I have always just such luck," cried Haviland; "the rascally Spaniards have shot away my pocket, snuff-box and all."

in a desperate sally. He having been detached with five hundred men, in 1763, by General Amherst, to raise the siege, found means of throwing the succour into the fort. But the garrison, commanded by Major Gladwine, a brave and sensible officer, had been so much weakened, by the lurking and insidious mode of war practised by the savages, that not a man could be spared to co-operate in an attack upon them. The commandant would even have dissuaded Captain D'Ell from the attempt, on account of the great disparity in numbers; but the latter, relying on the discipline and courage of his men, replied, "God "forbid that I should ever disobey the orders of "my General," and immediately disposed them for action. It was obstinate and bloody; but the vastly superior number of the savages enabled them to enclose Captain D'Ell's party on every side, and compelled him, finally, to fight his way, in retreat from one stone house to another. Having halted to breathe a moment, he saw one of his bravest sergeants lying at a small distance, wounded through the thigh, and wallowing in his blood. Whereupon he desired some of the men to run and bring the sergeant to the house, but they declined it. Then declaring, "that he never "would leave so brave a soldier in the field to "be tortured by the savages," he ran and endeavoured to help him up—at the instant a volley of shot dropped them both dead together. The party continued retreating from

house to house until they regained the fort; where it was found the conflict had been so sharp, and lasted so long, that only fifty men remained alive of the five hundred who had sallied.

Upon the arrival of General Bradstreet, the savages saw that all further efforts, in arms, would be vain, and accordingly, after many fallacious proposals for a peace, and frequent tergiversations in the negociation, they concluded a treaty, which ended the war in America.

Colonel Putnam, at the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform, and returned to his plough. The various and uncommon scenes of war in which he had acted a respectable part, his intercourse with the world, and intimacy with some of the first characters in the army, joined with occasional reading, had not only brought into view whatever talents he possessed from nature, but, at the same time, had extended his knowledge, and polished his manners, to a considerable degree. Not having become inflated with pride, or forgetful of his old connexions, he had the good fortune to possess entirely the good will of his fellow citizens. No character stood fairer in the public eye for integrity,

bravery, and patriotism. He was employed in several offices in his own town, and not unfrequently elected to represent it in the General Assembly. The year after his return to private life, the minds of men were strangely agitated, by an attempt of the British Parliament to introduce the memorable Stamp Act in America. This germe of policy, whose growth was repressed by the moderate temperature in which it was kept by some administrations, did not fully disclose its fruit until nearly eleven years afterwards. All the world knows how it then ripened into a civil war.

On the twenty-second day of March, 1765, the Stamp Act received the royal assent. It was to take place in America on the first day of November following. This innovation spread a sudden and universal alarm. The political pulse in the Provinces, from *Maine* to *Georgia*, throbbed in sympathy. The Assemblies, in most of these colonies, that they might oppose it legally and in concert, appointed Delegates to confer together on the subject. This first Congress met, early in October, at New-York. They agreed upon a Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists; together with separate Addresses to the King, Lords, and Commons of Great-Britain. In the mean time, the people had determined, in order to prevent the stamped paper from being distributed, that the Stamp-Masters should not enter on the execution of their office. That

appointment, in Connecticut, had been conferred upon Mr. Ingersol, a very dignified, sensible, and learned native of the colony, who, upon being solicited to resign, did not, in the first instance, give a satisfactory answer. In consequence of which, a great number of the substantial yeomanry, on horseback, furnished with provisions for themselves, and provender for their horses, assembled in the eastern counties, and began their march for New-Haven, to receive the resignation of Mr. Ingersol. A junction with another body was to have been formed in Branford. But having learned at Hartford, that Mr. Ingersol would be in town the next day to claim protection from the Assembly, they took quarters there, and kept out patroles during the whole night, to prevent his arrival without their knowledge. The succeeding morning they resumed their march, and met Mr. Ingersol in Wethersfield. They told him their business, and he, after some little hesitation, mounted on a round table, read his resignation.* That finished,

* The curious may be pleased to know that the resignation was expressed in these explicit terms:

Wethersfield, September 9th. 1765.

"I do hereby promise, that I never will receive any stamped papers which may arrive from Europe, in consequence of an act lately passed in the Parliament of Great-Britain; nor officiate as Stamp-Master or Distributor of Stamps, within the colony of Connecticut, either directly or indirectly. And I do hereby notify to all the inhabitants of his Majesty's colony of Connecticut (notwithstanding the said office or trust has been committed to me) not to apply to me ever after, for any stamped paper; *hereby declaring that I do resign the said office,* and execute *these* PRESENTS of MY OWN FREE WILL AND ACCORD, without any equivocation or mental reservation.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand,

"J. INGERSOL."

the multitude desired him to cry out "liberty and property" three times; which he did, and was answered by three loud huzzas. He then dined with some of the principal men at a tavern, by whom he was treated with great politeness, and afterwards was escorted by about five hundred horse to Hartford, where he again read his resignation, amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people. I have chosen to style this collection the *yeomanry*, the *multitude*, or the *people*, because I could not make use of the English word *mob*, which generally signifies a disorderly concurrence of the rabble, without conveying an erroneous idea. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the people, their objects being effected, without offering disturbance, dispersed to their homes.*

Colonel Putnam, who instigated the people to these measures, was prevented from attending by accident. But he was deputed soon after, with two other gentlemen, to wait on Governor Fitch on the same subject. The questions of the Governor, and answers of Putnam, will serve to indicate the spirit of the times. After some conversation, the Governor asked, "What he should do if the stamped paper should be sent to him by the King's

* To give a trait of the urbanity that prevailed, it may not be amiss to mention a jest that passed in the cavalcade to Hartford, and was received with the most perfect good humour. Mr. Ingersol, who by chance rode a white horse, being asked "What he thought, to find himself attended by such a retinue?"—replied, "that he had now a clearer idea than ever he had before conceived of that passage in the Revelations, which describes *Death on a pale horse, and hell following him.*"

authority?" Putnam replied, "lock it up until we shall visit you again." "And what will you do then?" "We shall expect you to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited; and, if you think fit, in order to screen yourself from blame, you may forewarn us, upon our peril, not to enter the room." "And what will you do afterwards?" "Send it safely back again." "But if I should refuse admission?" "In such a case, your house will be levelled with the dust in five minutes." It was supposed, that a report of this conversation was one reason why the stamped paper was never sent from New-York to Connecticut.

Such unanimity in the Provincial Assemblies, and decision in the yeomanry, carried beyond the Atlantic a conviction of the inexpediency of attempting to enforce the new Revenue System. The Stamp Act being repealed, and the measures in a manner quieted, Colonel Putnam continued to labour with his own hands, at farming, without interruption, except, for a little time, by the loss of the first joint of his right thumb from one accident, and the compound fracture of his right thigh from another: that thigh, being rendered nearly an inch shorter than the left, occasioned him ever to limp in his walk.

The Provincial officers and soldiers from Connecticut, who survived the conquest of the Havannah, appointed General Lyman to receive the remainder of their prize money, in England. A company, composed partly of

military, and partly of other gentlemen, whose object was to obtain from the crown a grant of land on the Mississippi, also committed to him the negociation of their affairs. When several years had elapsed in applications, a grant of land was obtained. In 1770, General Lyman, with Colonel Putnam, and two or three others, went to explore the situation. After a tedious voyage, and a laborious passage up the Mississippi, they accomplished their business.

General Lyman came back to Connecticut with the explorers, but soon returned to the Natchez: there formed an establishment and laid his bones. Colonel Putnam placed some labourers with provisions and farming utensils upon his location; but the increasing troubles shortly after ruined the prospect of deriving any advantage from that quarter.

In speaking of the troubles that ensued, I not only omit to say any thing on the obnoxious claim asserted in the British declaratory act, the continuation of the duty on tea, the attempt to obtrude that article upon the Americans, the abortion of this project, the Boston Port Bill, the alteration of the charter of Massachusetts, and other topics of universal notoriety; but even wave all discussion of irritations on the one part, and supplications on the other, which preceded the war between Great-Britain and her colonies on this continent. It will ever be acknowledged by those

who were best acquainted with facts, and it should be made known to posterity, that the king of England had not, in his extensive dominions, subjects more loyal, more dutiful, or more zealous for his glory than the Americans; and that nothing short of a melancholy persuasion, that the "measures which for many years had been systematically pursued by his ministers, were calculated to subvert their constitutions," could have dissolved their powerful attachment to that kingdom which they fondly called their *parent country*. Here, without digression to develope the cause, or describe the progress, it may suffice to observe, the dispute now verged precipitately to an awful crisis. Most considerate men foresaw it would terminate in blood. But rather than suffer the chains, which they believed in preparation, to be rivetted, they nobly determined to sacrifice their lives. In vain did they deprecate the infatuation of those transatlantic counsels which drove them to deeds of desperation. Convinced of the rectitude of their cause, and doubtful of the issue, they felt the most painful solicitude for the fate of their country, on contemplating the superior strength of the nation with which it was to contend. America, thinly inhabited, under thirteen distinct colonial governments, could have little hope of success, but from the protection of providence, and the unconquerable spirit of freedom which pervaded the mass of

the people. It is true, since the peace she had surprisingly increased in wealth and population; but the resources of Britain almost exceeded credibility or conception. It is not wonderful, then, that some good citizens, of weaker nerves, recoiled at the prospect; while others, who had been officers in the late war, or who had witnessed, by travelling, the force of Britain, stood aloof. All eyes were now turned to find the men who, possessed of military experience, would dare, in the approaching hour of severest trial, to lead their undisciplined fellow-citizens to battle. For none were so stupid as not to comprehend, that want of success would involve the leaders in the punishment of rebellion. Putnam was among the first and most conspicuous who stepped forth. Although the Americans had been, by many who wished their subjugation, indiscreetly as indiscriminately stigmatized with the imputation of cowardice—he felt—he knew for himself, he was no coward; and from what he had seen and known, he believed that his countrymen, driven to the extremity of defending their rights by arms, would find no difficulty in wiping away the ungenerous aspersion. As he happened to be often at Boston, he held many conversations, on these subjects, with General Gage, the British Commander in Chief, Lord Percy, Colonel Sheriff, Colonel Small, and many officers with whom he had formerly served, who were now at the

Head-Quarters. Being often questioned, "in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really take?" he always answered, "with his country; and that, let whatever might happen, he was prepared to abide the consequence." Being interrogated, "whether *he*, who had been a witness to the prowess and victories of the British fleets and armies, did not think them equal to the conquest of a country which was not the owner of a single ship, regiment, or magazine?" he rejoined, that "he could only say, justice would be on our side, and the event with providence: but that he had calculated, if it required six years for the combined forces of England and her colonies to conquer such a feeble country as Canada, it would, at least, take a very long time for England alone to overcome her own widely extended colonies, which were much stronger than Canada: That when men fought for every thing dear, in what they believed to be the most sacred of all causes, and in their own native land, they would have great advantages over their enemies who were not in the same situation; and that, having taken into view all circumstances, for his own part, he fully believed that America would not be so easily conquered by England as those gentlemen seemed to expect." Being once, in particular, asked, "whether he did not seriously believe that a well appointed British army of five thousand veterans could march

through the whole continent of America?" he replied briskly, "no doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid well for every thing they wanted;—but"—after a moment's pause added—"if they should attempt it in a hostile manner (though the American men were out of the question) the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half way through." This was the tenor, our hero hath often told me, of these amicable interviews; and thus, as it commonly happens in disputes about future events which depend on opinion, they parted without conviction, no more to meet in a friendly manner, until after the appeal should have been made to Heaven, and the issue confirmed by the sword. In the mean time, to provide against the worst contingency, the militia in the several colonies was sedulously trained; and those select companies, the flower of our youth, which were denominated minutemen, agreeably to the indication of their name, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

At length the fatal day arrived, when hostilities commenced. General Gage, in the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, detached from Boston, the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, to destroy some military and other stores deposited by the province at Concord. About sunrise the next morning, the

detachment, on marching into Lexington, fired upon a company of militia who had just reassembled; for having been alarmed late at night, with reports that the regulars were advancing to demolish the stores, they collected on their parade, and were dismissed with orders to reassemble at beat of drum. It is established by the affidavits of more than thirty persons who were present, that the first fire, which killed eight of the militia, then beginning to disperse, was given by the British, without provocation. The spark of war, thus kindled, ran with unexampled rapidity, and raged with unwonted violence. To repel the aggression, the people of the bordering towns spontaneously rushed to arms, and poured their scattering shot from every convenient station upon the regulars, who, after marching to Concord, and destroying the magazine, would have found their retreat intercepted, had they not been reinforced by Lord Percy, with the battalion companies of three regiments, and a body of marines. Notwithstanding the junction, they were hard pushed, and pursued until they could find protection from their ships. Of the British, two hundred and eighty-three were killed, wounded, and taken. The Americans had thirty-nine killed, nineteen wounded, and two made prisoners.

Nothing could exceed the celerity with which the intelligence flew every where, that blood had been shed by the British troops. The country, in motion, exhibited but one

scene of hurry, preparation and revenge. Putnam, who was plowing when he heard the news, left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut,* levied a regiment, under authority of the legislature, and speedily returned to Cambridge.† He was now promoted to be a Major-General on the Provincial staff,

* General Putnam was absent only one week from the army at Cambridge; and then, for the purpose of consultation with the Legislature of Connecticut, at that time in session; and at the particular request of that body. Having assisted by his advice in the organization of a military force for the campaign of 1775, he returned immediately to the Army before Boston, leaving orders for the troops to follow with as little delay as possible, after the men could be enlisted (*Editor.*)

† An article, void of foundation, mentioning an interview between General Gage and General Putnam, appeared in the English Gazettes in these words: 'General Gage, viewing the American army with his telescope, saw General Putnam in it, which surprised him; and he contrived to get a message delivered to him, that he wanted to speak to him. Putnam, without any hesitation, waited upon him. General Gage showed him his fortifications, and advised him to lay down his arms. General Putnam replied, he could force his fortifications in half an hour, and advised General Gage to go on board the ships with his troops.'

The apprehension of an attack is adduced with much more verisimilitude in M'Fingal, as the reason why General Gage would not suffer the inhabitants to go from the town of Boston, after he had promised to grant permission:

'So Gage of late agreed, you know,
To let the Boston people go:
Yet when he saw, 'gainst troops that brav'd him,
They were the only guards that sav'd him,
Kept off that Satan of a *Putnam*,
From breaking in to maul and mutt'n him,
He'd too much wit such leagues t' observe,
And shut them in again to starve.'

M'Fingal. Canto I.

by his colony; and, in a little time, confirmed by Congress, in the same rank on the Continental establishment. General Ward, of Massachusetts, by common consent, commanded the whole; and the celebrated Dr. Warren was made a Major-General.

Not long after this period, the British Commander in Chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to General Putnam, that if he would relinquish the rebel party, he might rely upon being made a Major-General on the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. General Putnam spurned at the offer; which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice.

It could scarcely have been expected, but by those credulous patriots who were prone to believe whatever they ardently desired, that officers assembled from colonies distinct in their manners and prejudices, selected from laborious occupations, to command a heterogeneous crowd of their equals, compelled to be soldiers only by the spur of occasion, should long be able to preserve harmony among themselves, and subordination among their followers. As the fact would be a phenomenon, the idea was treated with mirth and mockery by the friends to the British government. Yet this unshaken embryo of a military corps, composed of militia, minutemen, volunteers, and levies, with a burlesque appearance

of multiformity in arms, accoutrements, cloathing and conduct, at last grew into a regular army—an army which, having vindicated the rights of human nature, and established the independence of a new empire, merited and obtained the glorious distinction of the patriot army—the patriot army, whose praises for their fortitude in adversity, bravery in battle, moderation in conquest, perseverance in supporting the cruel extremities of hunger and nakedness without a murmur or sigh, as well as for their magnanimity in retiring to civil life, at the moment of victory, with arms in their hands, and without any just compensation for their services, will only cease to be celebrated when time shall exist no more.

Enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, substituted in the place of discipline, not only kept these troops together, but enabled them at once to perform the duties of a disciplined army. Though the commanding officers from the four colonies of New-England were in a manner independent, they acted harmoniously in concert. The first attention had been prudently directed towards forming some little redoubts and intrenchments; for it was well known that lines, however slight or untenable, were calculated to inspire raw soldiers with a confidence in themselves. The next care was to bring the live stock from the islands in Boston bay, in order to prevent the enemy (already surrounded by land,) from

making use of them for fresh provisions. In the latter end of May, between two and three hundred men were sent to drive off the stock from Hog and Noddle islands, which are situated on the north-east side of Boston harbour. Advantage having been taken of the ebb-tide, when the water is fordable between the main and Hog island, as it is between that and Noddle-island, the design was effected. But a skirmish ensued, in which some of the marines, who had been stationed to guard them, were killed: and as the firing continued between the British water-craft and our party, a reinforcement of three hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, was ordered to join the latter. General Putnam took the command, and having himself gone down on the beach, within conversing distance, and *ineffectually* ordered the people on board an armed schooner to strike, he plied her with shot so furiously that the crew made their escape, and the vessel was burnt. An armed sloop was likewise so much disabled as to be towed off by the boats of the fleet. Thus ended this affair, in which several hundred sheep, and some cattle were removed from under the muzzles of the enemy's cannon, and our men, accustomed to stand fire, by being for many hours exposed to it, without meeting with any loss.

The Provincial Generals having received advice that the British Commander in Chief designed to take possession of the heights on

the peninsula of Charlestown, detached a thousand men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to intrench themselves upon one of these eminences, named Bunker-Hill. Though retarded by accidents, from beginning the work until nearly midnight, yet, by dawn of day, they had constructed a redoubt about eight rods square, and commenced a breast-work from the left to the low grounds; which an insufferable fire from the shipping, floating batteries, and cannon on Copp's Hill, in Boston, prevented them from completing. At mid-day four battalions of foot, ten companies of grenadiers, ten companies of light-infantry, with a proportion of artillery, commanded by Major-General Howe, landed under a heavy cannonade from the ships, and advanced in three lines to the attack. The light-infantry being formed on the right, was directed to turn the left flank of the Americans; and the grenadiers, supported by two battalions, to storm the redoubt in front. Meanwhile, on application, these troops were augmented by the 47th regiment, the 1st battalion of marines, together with some companies of light-infantry and grenadiers, which formed an aggregate force of between two and three thousand men.* But so difficult was it to reinforce the

* The preceding paragraph was copied from a British Register, being the English account of the troops sent to the attack of Bunker-Hill, and the disposition of those troops. This account, and others, published at the time, and ascribing the command of the

Americans, by sending detachments across the Neck, which was raked by the cannon of the shipping, that not more than fifteen hundred men were brought into action. Few instances can be produced in the annals of mankind, where soldiers, who never had before faced an enemy, or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valour. It was not until after the grenadiers had been twice repulsed to their boats, General Warren slain, his troops exhausted of their ammunition, their lines in a manner enfiladed by artillery, and the redoubt half filled with British regulars, that the word was given to retire. In that forlorn condition, the spectacle was astonishing as new, to behold these undisciplined men, most of them without bayonets, disputing with the but-end of their muskets against the British bayonet, and receding in sullen despair. Still the light-infantry on their left would certainly have gained their rear, and exterminated this gallant corps, had not a body of four hundred Connecticut men, with the Captains Knowlton and Chester, after forming a temporary breast-work, by pulling up one post-and-rail fence and putting it upon another, performed prodigies of bravery. They held the enemy at bay until the main body had relinquished the heights, and then retreated across the Neck with more regularity, and less loss, than could have been

American force to *Warren*, probably occasioned the historical error on that subject. *(Editor.)*

expected. The British, who effected nothing but the destruction of Charlestown by a wanton conflagration, had more than one half of their whole number killed and wounded: the Americans only three hundred and fifty-five killed, wounded, and missing. In this battle, the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful. He did every thing that an intrepid and experienced officer could accomplish. The enemy pursued to Winter-Hill—Putnam made a stand, and drove them back under cover of their ships.*

The premature death of Warren, one of the most illustrious patriots that ever bled in the cause of freedom; the veteran appearance of Putnam, collected, yet ardent in action; together with the astonishing scenery and interesting groupe around Bunker-Hill, rendered this a magnificent subject for the historic pencil. Accordingly Trumbull, formerly an Aid-de-Camp to General Washington, afterwards Deputy-Adjutant-General of the northern army, now an artist of great celebrity in Europe, hath finished this picture with that boldness

* Such was the statement made in some American news-papers of that day, but without any foundation in fact. There was no pursuit of the British beyond Bunker-Hill; but General Putnam, with most of the retreating troops took post on Prospect-Hill, and being joined by others which had not been in action began an entrenchment, and the next morning, presented to the enemy another line of defence, equally formidable with that which had been purchased the preceding day, at the expence of so much blood. *(Editor.)*

of conception, and those touches of art which demonstrate the master. Heightened in horror by the flames of a burning town, and the smoke of conflicting armies, the principal scene, taken the moment when Warren fell, represents that hero in the agonies of death, a grenadier on the point of bayoneting him, and Colonel Small, to whom he was familiarly known, arresting the soldier's arms; at the head of the British line, Major Pitcairne is seen falling dead into the arms of his son; and not far distant General Putnam is placed at the rear of our retreating troops, in the light blue and scarlet uniform he wore that day, with his head uncovered, and his sword waving towards the enemy, as it were to stop their impetuous pursuit. In nearly the same attitude he is exhibited by Barlow in that excellent poem, the Vision of Columbus.

"There strides bold Putnam, and from all the plains
Calls the third host, the tardy rear sustains,
And, 'mid the whizzing deaths that fill the air,
Waves back his sword, and dares the foll'wing war."*

* The writer of this Essay had occasion of remarking to the poet and the painter, while they were three thousand miles distant from each other, at which distance they had formed and executed the plans of their respective productions, the similarity observable in their descriptions of General Putnam. These *Chefs d'œuvres* are mentioned not with a vain presumption of adding eclat of duration to works which have received the seal of immortality, but because they preserve, in the sister arts, the same illustrious action of our hero. I persuade myself I need not apologize for annexing the beautiful lines from the poem in question, on the death of General Warren.

"There, hapless Warren, thy cold earth was seen:
There spring thy laurels in immortal green;

After this action, the British strongly fortified themselves on the peninsulas of Boston and Charlestown; while the Provincials remained posted in the circumjacent country in such a manner as to form a blockade. In the beginning of July, General Washington, who had been constituted by Congress, Commander in Chief of the American forces, arrived at Cambridge, to take the command. Having formed the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve regiments each, he appointed Major-General Ward to command the right wing, Major-General Lee the left wing, and Major-General Putnam the reserve. General Putnam's alertness in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences was particularly noticed and highly approved by the Commander in Chief.*

About the 20th of July, the declaration of

Dearest of Chiefs that ever press'd the plain,
In freedom's cause, with early honours, slain,
Still dear in death, as when in fight you mov'd,
By hosts applauded and by heav'n approv'd;
The faithful muse shall tell the world thy fame,
And unborn realms resound th' immortal name."

* *Washington* and *Putnam* were unknown to each other till they met at Cambridge. The open, undisguised frankness of the latter, together with his great activity and personal industry, in every thing pertaining to the army, soon attracted the attention of the former; an early intimacy was formed, and a firm friendship established, which continued undisturbed during the whole period they were associated in service. It was not in Putnam's nature to be idle: inured to habits of industry himself, no man was better calculated to make others so; and Washington observing the great progress that had been made in a short time, and with but few men, in raising a work of defence, said to him—" you seem to have the faculty General Putnam, of infusing your own industrious spirit into all the workmen you employ. *(Editor.)*

Congress, setting forth the reasons of their taking up arms, was proclaimed at the head of the several divisions. It concluded with these patriotic and noble sentiments: "In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

"With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and, thereby, to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war."

As soon as these memorable words were pronounced to General Putnam's division, which he had ordered to be paraded on Prospect-Hill, they shouted in three huzzas aloud, Amen! whereat (a cannon from the fort being fired as a signal) the new *Standard* lately sent from Connecticut, was suddenly seen to rise and unrol itself to the wind. On one side was inscribed, in large letters of gold, "AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN," and on the other were delineated the armorial bearings of Connecticut, which,

without supporters or crest, consist, unostentatiously, of *three Vines;* with this motto, "*Qui transtulit, sustinet;** alluding to the pious confidence our forefathers placed in the protection of Heaven, on those three allegorical scions—KNOWLEDGE —LIBERTY——RELIGION—— which they had been instrumental in transplanting to America.

The strength of position on the enemy's part, and want of ammunition on our's, prevented operations of magnitude from being attempted. Such diligence was used in fortifying our camps, and such precaution adopted to prevent surprise, as to ensure tranquillity to the troops during the winter. In the spring, a position was taken so menacing to the enemy, as to cause them, on the 17th of March, 1776, to abandon Boston, not without considerable precipitation and dereliction of royal stores.†

* Literally, "*He who transplanted them will support them.*"

† In the expectation that the flower of the British troops would be employed against the Heights of Dorchester, (which had been taken possession of by the Americans on the night of the 4th of March, 1776,) General Washington had concerted a plan for availing himself of that occasion, to attack the town of Boston itself. Four thousand chosen men were held in readiness to embark at the mouth of Cambridge river, on a signal to be given if the garrison should appear to be so weakened by the detachment made from it as to justify an assault. These troops were to embark in two divisions, the first to be led by Brigadier-General Sullivan, the second by Brigadier-General Green, and the whole to be under the command of Major-General Putnam. The boats were to be preceded by three floating batteries, which were to keep up a heavy fire on that part of the town where the troops were to land. It was proposed that the first division should land at the powder-house, and gain possession of Beacon Hill; the second at Barton's Point, or a little south of it, and after securing that post, to join the other division, force the enemy's works, and open the gates in order to give admission to the troops from Roxbury. *(Editor.)*

As a part of the hostile fleet lingered for some time in Nantasket-Road, about nine miles below Boston, General Washington continued himself in Boston, not only to see the coast entirely clear, but also to make many indispensable arrangements. His Excellency, proposing to leave Major-General Ward, with a few regiments, to finish the fortifications intended as a security against an attack by water, in the mean time despatched the greater part of the army to New-York, where it was most probable the enemy would make a descent. Upon the sailing of a fleet with troops in the month of January, Major-General Lee had been sent to the defence of that city; who, after having caused some works to be laid out, proceeded to follow that fleet to South-Carolina. The Commander in Chief was now exceedingly solicitous that these works should be completed as soon as possible, and accordingly gave the following

"*Orders and Instructions for Major-General Putnam.*

"As there are the best reasons to believe that the enemy's fleet and army, which left Nantasket-Road last Wednesday evening, are bound to New-York, to endeavour to possess that important post, and, if possible, to secure the communication by Hudson's river to Canada, it must be our care to prevent them from accomplishing their designs. To that end I

have detached Brigadier-General Heath, with the whole body of riflemen, and five battalions of the Continental army, by the way of Norwich, in Connecticut, to New-York. These, by an express arrived yesterday from General Heath, I have reason to believe, are in New-York. Six more battalions, under General Sullivan, march this morning by the same route, and will, I hope, arrive there in eight or ten days at farthest. The rest of the army will immediately follow in divisions, leaving only a convenient space between each division, to prevent confusion, and want of accommodation upon their march. You will, no doubt, make the best despatch in getting to New-York. Upon your arrival there, you will assume the command, and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the *plan* proposed by Major-General Lee, for fortifying that city, and securing the passes of the East and North rivers. If, upon consultation with the Brigadiers General and Engineers, any alteration in that *plan* is thought necessary, you are at liberty to make it: cautiously avoiding to break in too much upon his main design, unless where it may be apparently necessary so to do, and that by the general voice and opinion of the gentlemen above-mentioned.

"You will meet the Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Mifflin, and Commissary-General,*

* Colonel Joseph Trumbull, eldest son to the Governor of that name.

at New-York. As these are both men of excellent talents in their different departments, you will do well to give them all the authority and assistance they require: And should a council of war be necessary, it is my direction they assist at it.

"*Your long service and experience* will, better than my particular directions at this distance, point out to you the works most proper to be first raised; and your perseverance, activity, and zeal will lead you, without my recommending it, to exert every *nerve* to disappoint the enemy's designs.

"Devoutly praying that the POWER which has hitherto sustained the American arms, may continue to bless them with the divine protection, I bid you—FAREWELL.

"Given at Head-Quarters, in Cambridge, this twenty-ninth of March, 1776.

"G. WASHINGTON."

Invested with these commands, General Putnam travelled by long and expeditious stages to New-York. His first precaution, upon his arrival, was to prevent disturbance, or surprise in the night season. With these objects in view, after posting the necessary guards, he issued his orders.* He instituted,

* GENERAL ORDERS.

"*Head-Quarters, New-York, April 5, 1776.*

"The soldiers are strictly enjoined to retire to their barracks and quarters at tattoo-beating, and to remain there until the reveille is beat.

likewise, other wholesome regulations to meliorate the police of the troops, and to preserve the good agreement that subsisted between them and the citizens.

Notwithstanding the war had now raged, in other parts, with unaccustomed severity for nearly a year, yet the British ships at New-York, one of which had once fired upon the town to intimidate the inhabitants, found the means of being supplied with fresh water and provisions. General Putnam resolved to adopt effectual measures for putting a period to this intercourse, and accordingly expressed his prohibition* in the most pointed terms.

Nearly at the same moment, a detachment of a thousand Continentals was sent to occupy Governor's Island, a regiment to fortify Red Hook, and some companies of riflemen

"Necessity obliges the General to desire the inhabitants of the city to observe the same rule, as no person will be permitted to pass any sentry after this night without the countersign.

"The inhabitants, whose business require it, may know the countersign, by applying to any of the Brigade-Majors."

* PROHIBITION.

Head-Quarters, New-York, April 8, 1776.

"The General informs the inhabitants, that it is become absolutely necessary, that all communication between the ministerial fleet and the shore should be immediately stopped; for that purpose he has given positive orders, the ships should no longer be furnished with provisions. Any inhabitants, or others, who shall be taken that have been on board, after the publishing this order, or near any of the ships, or going on board, will be considered as enemies, and treated accordingly.

"All boats are to sail from Beekman slip. Captain James Alner is appointed inspector, and will give permits to oystermen. It is ordered and expected that none attempt going without a pass.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM,
"Major-General in the Continental Army, and Commander in Chief of the Forces in New-York."

to the Jersey shore. Of two boats, belonging to two armed vessels, which attempted to take on board fresh water from the watering place on Staten-Island, one was driven off by the riflemen, with two or three seamen killed in it, and the other captured with thirteen. A few days afterwards, Captain Vandeput, of the Asia man of war, the senior officer of the ships on this station, finding the intercourse with the shore interdicted, their limits contracted, and that no good purposes could be answered by remaining there, sailed, with all the armed vessels, out of the harbour. These arrangements and transactions, joined to an unremitting attention to the completion of the defences, gave full scope to the activity of General Putnam, until the arrival of General Washington, which happened about the middle of April.

The Commander in Chief, in his first public orders, "*complimented the officers who had successively commanded at New-York*, and returned his thanks to them as well as to the officers and soldiers under their command, for the many works of defence which had been so expeditiously erected: at the same time he expressed an expectation that the same spirit of zeal for the service would continue to animate their future conduct." Putnam, who was then the only Major-General with the main army, had still a chief agency in forwarding the fortifications, and, with the assistance of the

Brigadiers Spencer and Lord Stirling, in assigning to the different corps their alarm posts.

Congress having intimated a desire of consulting with the Commander in Chief, on the critical posture of affairs, his Excellency repaired to Philadelphia accordingly, and was absent from the twenty-first of May until the sixth of June. General Putnam, who commanded in that interval, had it in charge to open all letters directed to General Washington, *on public service*, and, if important, after regulating his conduct by their contents, to forward them by express; to expedite the works then erecting; to begin others which were specified; to establish signals for communicating an alarm; to guard against the possibility of surprise; to secure well the powder magazine; to augment, by every means in his power, the quantity of cartridges; and to send Brigadier-General Lord Stirling to put the posts in the *Highlands* into a proper condition of defence. He had also *a private and confidential instruction*, to afford whatever aid might be required by the Provincial Congress of New-York, for apprehending certain of their disaffected citizens: and as it would be most convenient to take the detachment for this service from the troops on Long-Island, under the command of Brigadier-General Greene, it was recommended that this officer should be advised of the plan, and that the execution should be conducted with

secrecy and celerity, as well as with decency and good order. In the records of the army are preserved the daily orders which were issued in the absence of the Commander in Chief, who, on his return, was not only satisfied that the works had been prosecuted with all possible despatch, but also that the other duties had been properly discharged.

It was the latter end of June, when the British fleet, which had been at Halifax waiting for reinforcements from Europe, began to arrive at New-York. To obstruct its passage, some marine preparations had been made. General Putnam, to whom the direction of the whale-boats, fire-rafts, flat-bottomed boats, and armed vessels, was committed, afforded his patronage to a project for destroying the enemy's shipping by explosion. A *machine*, altogether different from any thing hitherto devised by the art of man, had been invented by Mr. David Bushnell,* for *sub-marine navigation*, which

* David Bushnell, A. M. of Saybrook, in Connecticut, invented several other machines for the annoyance of shipping; these, from accidents, not militating against the philosophical principles on which their success depended, only partially succeeded. He destroyed a vessel in the charge of Commodore Symmonds, whose report to the Admiral was published. One of his kegs also demolished a vessel near the Long-Island shore. About Christmas, 1777, he committed to the Delaware a number of kegs, destined to fall among the British fleet at Philadelphia; but his squadron of kegs, having been separated and retarded by the ice, demolished but a single boat. This catastrophe, however, produced an alarm, unprecedented in its nature and degree; which has been so happily described in the subsequent song, by the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, that the event it celebrates will not be forgotten, so long as mankind shall continue to be delighted with works of humour and taste.

was found to answer the purpose perfectly, of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleas-

THE BATTLE OF THE KEGS:—*A Song.*

Tune, Moggy Lawder.

Gallants, attend, and hear a friend
Thrill forth harmonious ditty:
Strange things I'll tell, which late befel
In Philadelphia city.

'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood on log of wood,
And saw a sight surprising.

As in a maze he stood to gaze,
The truth can't be denied, Sir,
He spied a score of kegs or more,
Come floating down the tide, Sir.

A sailor, too, in jerkin blue,
The strange appearance viewing,
First damn'd his eyes, in great surprise,
Then said—"Some mischief's brewing.

"These Kegs now hold the rebels bold,
"Pack'd up like pickled herring;
"And they're come down, t' attack the town
"In this new way of ferry'ng."

The soldier flew; the sailor too;
And, scar'd almost to death, Sir,
Wore out their shoes to spread the news,
And ran till out of breath, Sir.

Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted;
And some ran here, and some ran there,
Like men almost distracted.

Some fire cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quaked:
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the town half naked.

Sir William* he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a snoring;

* *Sir William Howe.*

ure. To *this machine*, called the American Turtle, was attached *a magazine of powder*, which it was intended to be fastened under

Nor dreamt of harm, as he lay warm
In bed with Mrs. L*r*ng.

Now in a fright, he starts upright,
Awak'd by such a clatter:
He rubs both eyes, and boldly cries,
"For God's sake, what's the matter?"

At his bed-side he then espied
Sir Erskine* at command, Sir;
Upon one foot he had one boot,
And t'other in his hand, Sir.

"Arise! arise!" Sir Erskine cries;
"The rebels—more's the pity—
"Without a boat, are all on float,
"And rang'd before the city.

"The motley crew, in vessels new,
"With Satan for their guide, Sir,
"Pack'd up in bags, or wooden kegs,
"Come driving down the tide, Sir:

"Therefore prepare for bloody war;
"These kegs must all be routed,
"Or surely we despis'd shall be,
"And British courage doubted."

The Royal band now ready stand,
All rang'd in dread array, Sir,
With stomachs stout, to see it out,
And make a bloody day, Sir.

The cannons roar from shore to shore,
The small arms make a rattle:
Since wars began, I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle.

The rebel† vales, the rebel dales,
With rebel trees surrounded,
The distant woods, the hills and floods,
With rebel echoes sounded.

* *Sir William Erskine.*

† *The British officers were so fond of the word* rebel, *that they often applied it most absurdly.*

the bottom of a ship, with a driving screw, in such sort, that the same stroke which disengaged it from the machine, should put the internal clock-work in motion. This being done, the ordinary operation of a gun-lock at the distance of half an hour, an hour, or any determinate time, would cause the powder to explode, and leave the effects to the common laws of nature. The simplicity, yet combination discovered in the mechanism of this wonderful machine, were acknowledged by those skilled in physics, and particularly hydraulics, to be not less ingenious than novel.

The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from ev'ry quarter;
"Why sure," thought they, "the Devil's to pay
"Mong'st folks above the water."

The kegs, 'tis said, though strongly made
Of rebel staves and hoops, Sir,
Could not oppose their pow'rful foes,
The conqu'ring British troops, Sir.

From morn to night those men of might
Display'd amazing courage;
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retir'd to sup their porridge.

An hundred men, with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, Sir,
It is most true, would be too few
Their valour to record, Sir.

Such feats did they perform that day,
Upon those wicked kegs, Sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, Sir.

Mr. Bushnell, having been highly recommended for his talents by President Stiles, General Parsons, and some other gentlemen of science, was appointed a Captain in the corps of sappers and miners; in which capacity he continued to serve with that corps until the conclusion of the war.

The inventor, whose constitution was too feeble to permit him to perform the labour of rowing the Turtle, had taught his brother to manage it with perfect dexterity; but unfortunately his brother fell sick of a fever just before the arrival of the fleet. Recourse was therefore had to a sergeant in the Connecticut troops; who, having received whatever instructions could be communicated to him in a short time, went, too late in the night, with all the apparatus, under the bottom of the Eagle, a sixty-four gun ship, on board of which the British Admiral, Lord Howe, commanded. In coming up, the screw that had been calculated to perforate the copper sheathing, unluckily struck against some iron plates where the rudder is connected with the stern. This accident, added to the strength of the tide which prevailed, and the want of adequate skill in the sergeant, occasioned such delay, that the dawn began to appear, whereupon he abandoned the magazine to chance, and after gaining a proper distance, for the sake of expedition, rowed on the surface towards the town. General Putnam, who had been on the wharf anxiously expecting the result, from the first glimmering of light, beheld the machine near Governor's-Island, and sent a whale-boat to bring it on shore. In about twenty minutes afterwards the magazine exploded, and blew a vast column of water to an amazing height in the air. As the

whole business had been kept an inviolable secret, he was not a little diverted with the various conjectures, whether this stupendous noise was produced by a bomb, a meteor, a water-spout, or an earthquake. Other operations of a most serious nature rapidly succeeded, and prevented a repetition of the experiment.

On the twenty-second day of August, the van of the British landed on Long Island, and was soon followed by the whole army, except one brigade of Hessians, a small body of British, and some convalescents, left on Staten-Island. Our troops on Long Island had been commanded during the summer by General Greene who was now sick; and General Putnam took the command but two days before the battle of Flatbush. The instructions to him, pointing in the first place to decisive expedients for suppressing the scattering, unmeaning, and wasteful fire of our men, contained regulations for the service of the guards, the Brigadiers and the Field-officers of the day; for the appointment and encouragement of proper scouts, as well as for keeping the men constantly at their posts; for preventing the burning of buildings, except it should be necessary for military purposes, and for preserving private property from pillage and destruction. To these regulations were added, in a more diffuse, though not less spirited and professional style, reflections on the distinction

of an army from a mob; with exhortations for the soldiers to conduct themselves manfully in such a cause, and for their Commander to oppose the enemy's approach with detachments of his best troops; while he should endeavour to render their advance more difficult by constructing abbatis, and to entrap their parties by forming ambuscades. General Putnam was within the lines, when an engagement took place on the 27th, between the British army and our advanced corps, in which we lost about a thousand men in killed and missing, with the Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling made prisoners. But our men, though attacked on all sides, fought with great bravery; and the enemy's loss was not light.

The unfortunate battle of Long-Island, the masterly retreat from thence, and the actual passage of part of the hostile fleet in the East-River, above the town, preceded the evacuation of New-York. A promotion of four Major-Generals, and six Brigadiers, had previously been made by Congress. After the retreat from Long-Island, the main army, consisting, for the moment, of sixty battalions, of which twenty were Continental, the residue levies and militia, was, conformably to the exigencies of the service, rather than to the rules of war, formed into fourteen brigades. Major-General Putnam commanded the right grand division of five brigades, the Majors-General Spencer and Greene the centre of six brigades,

and Major-General Heath the left, which was posted near King's-bridge, and composed of two brigades. The whole never amounted to twenty thousand effective men; while the British and German forces, under Sir William Howe, exceeded twenty-two thousand: indeed, the minister had asserted in parliament that they would consist of more than thirty thousand. Our two centre divisions, both commanded by General Spencer, in the sickness of General Greene, moved towards Mount Washington, Harlaem Heights, and Horn's Hook, as soon as the final resolution was taken in a council of war, on the twelfth of September, to abandon the city. That event, thus circumstanced, took effect a few days after.

On Sunday, the fifteenth, the British, after sending three ships of war up the North-River, to Bloomingdale, and keeping up, for some hours, a severe cannonade on our lines, from those already in the East-River, landed in force at Turtle Bay. Our new levies, commanded by a State Brigadier-General, fled without making resistance. Two brigades of General Putnam's division, ordered to their support, notwithstanding the exertion of their Brigadiers, and of the Commander in Chief himself, who came up at the instant, conducted themselves in the same shameful manner. His Excellency then ordered the Heights of Harlaem, a strong position, to be

occupied. Thither the forces in the vicinity, as well as the fugitives, repaired. In the mean time General Putnam, with the remainder of his command, and the ordinary outposts, was in the city. After having caused the brigades to begin their retreat by the route of Bloomingdale, in order to avoid the enemy, who were then in the possession of the main road leading to King's-bridge, he galloped to call off the pickets and guards. Having myself been a volunteer in his division, and acting Adjutant to the last regiment that left the city, I had frequent opportunities, that day, of beholding him, for the purpose of issuing orders, and encouraging the troops, flying, on his horse covered with foam, wherever his presence was most necessary. Without his extraordinary exertions, the guards must have been inevitably lost, and it is probable the entire corps would have been cut in pieces. When we were not far from Bloomingdale, an Aid-de-camp came from him at full speed, to inform that a column of British infantry was descending upon our right. Our rear was soon fired upon, and the Colonel of our regiment, whose order was just communicated for the front to file off to the left, was killed on the spot. With no other loss we joined the army, after dark, on the Heights of Harlaem.

Before our brigades came in, we were given up for lost by all our friends. So critical indeed was our situation, and so narrow

the gap by which we escaped, that the instant we had passed the enemy closed it by extending their line from river to river. Our men, who had been fifteen hours under arms, harassed by marching and countermarching, in consequence of incessant alarms, exhausted as they were by heat and thirst. (for the day proved insupportably hot, and few or none had canteens, insomuch, that some died at the brooks where they drank) if attacked, could have made but feeble resistance.

If we take into consideration the debilitating sickness which weakened almost all our troops, the hard duty by which they were worn down in constructing numberless defences, the continual want of rest they had suffered since the enemy landed, in guarding from nocturnal surprise, the despondency infused into their minds by an insular situation, and a consciousness of inferiority to the enemy in discipline, together with the disadvantageous terms upon which, in their state of separation, they might have been forced to engage, it appears highly probable that day would have presented an easy victory to the British. On the other side, the American Commander in Chief had wisely countenanced an opinion, then universally credited, that our army was three times more numerous than it was in reality. It is not a subject for astonishment, that the British, ignorant of the existing circumstances, imposed upon as to the

numbers by reports, and recollecting what a few brave men, slightly entrenched, had performed at Bunker-Hill, should proceed with great circumspection. For their reproaches, that the rebels, as they affected to style us, loved digging better than fighting, and that they earthed themselves in holes like foxes, but ill concealed at the bottom of their own hearts the profound impression that action had made. Cheap and contemptible as we had once seemed in their eyes, it had taught them to hold us in some respect. This respect, in conjunction with a fixed belief, that the enthusiastic spirit of our opposition must soon subside, and that the inexhaustible resources of Britain would ultimately triumph, without leaving any thing to chance (not the avarice or treachery of the British General, as the factious of his own nation wished to insinuate,) retarded their operation, and afforded us leisure to rescue from annihilation the miserable relics of an army, hastening to dissolution by the expiration of enlistments, and the country itself from irretrievable subjugation. IN TRUTH, WE ARE NOT LESS INDEBTED TO THE MATTOCK AT ONE PERIOD, THAN TO THE MUSKET AT ANOTHER, FOR OUR POLITICAL SALVATION. It required great talents to determine when one or the other was most profitably to be employed. I am aware how fashionable it has become to compare the American Commander in Chief, for the prudence displayed

in those dilatory and defensive operations, so happily prosecuted in the early stages of the war, to the illustrious Roman, who acquired immortality in restoring the Commonwealth *by delay*. Advantageous and flattering as the comparison at first appears, it will be found, on examination, to stint the American Fabius to the smaller moiety of his merited fame. Did HE not, in scenes of almost unparalleled activity, discover specimens of transcendent abilities; and might it not be proved, to professional men, that boldness in council, and rapidity in execution, were, at least, equally with prudent procrastination, and the quality of not being compelled to action, attributes of his military genius? *This*, however, was an occasion, as apparent as pressing, for attaining his object *by delay*. From that he had every thing to gain, nothing to lose. Yet there were not wanting *politicians*, AT THIS VERY TIME, who querulously blamed these *Fabian* measures, and loudly clamoured that the immense labour and expense bestowed on the fortification of New-York, had been thrown away; that if we could not face the enemy *there* after so many preparations, we might as well relinquish the contest at once, for we could no where make a stand; and that if General Washington, with an army of sixty thousand men, strongly entrenched, declined fighting with Sir William Howe, who had little more than one third of that number, it was not to

be expected he would find any other occasion that might induce him to engage. But General Washington, content to suffer a temporary sacrifice of personal reputation, for the sake of securing a permanent advantage to his country, and regardless of those idle clamours for which he had furnished materials, by making his countrymen, in order the more effectually to make his enemy believe his force much greater than it actually was, inflexibly pursued his system, and gloriously demonstrated how poor and pitiful, in the estimation of A GREAT MIND, are the censorious strictures of those novices in war and politics, who, with equal rashness and impudence, presume to decide dogmatically on the merit of plans they could neither originate or comprehend!

That night our soldiers, excessively fatigued by the sultry march of the day, their clothes wet by a severe shower of rain that succeeded towards the evening, their blood chilled by the cold wind that produced a sudden change in the temperature of the air, and their hearts sunk within them by the loss of baggage, artillery, and works in which they had been taught to put great confidence, lay upon their arms, covered only by the clouds of an uncomfortable sky. To retrieve our disordered affairs, and prevent the enemy from profiting by them, no exertion was relaxed, no vigilance remitted on the part of our higher officers.

The regiments which had been least exposed to fatigue that day, furnished the necessary picquets to secure the army from surprise. Those whose military lives had been short and unpractised, felt enough besides lassitude of body to disquiet the tranquillity of their repose. Nor had those who were older in service, and of more experience, any subject for consolation. The warmth of enthusiasm seemed to be extinguished. The force of discipline had not sufficiently occupied its place to give men a dependence upon each other. We were apparently about to reap the bitter fruits of that jealous policy, which some leading men, with the best motives, had sown in our federal councils, when they caused the mode to be adopted, for carrying on the war by detachments of militia, from apprehension that an established Continental army, after defending the country against foreign invasion, might subvert its liberties themselves. Paradoxical as it will appear, it may be profitable to be known to posterity, that while our very existence as an independent people was in question, the patriotic jealousy for the safety of our future *freedom* had been carried to such a virtuous but dangerous excess as well nigh to preclude the attainment of our Independence. Happily that limited and hazardous system soon gave room to one more enlightened and salutary. This may be attributed to the reiterated arguments, the open

remonstrances, and the confidential communications of the Commander in Chief; who, though not apt to despair of the Republic, on this occasion expressed himself in terms of unusual despondency. He declared, in his letters, that he found, to his utter astonishment and mortification, that no reliance could be placed on a great proportion of his present troops, and that, unless efficient measures for establishing a permanent force should be speedily pursued, we had every reason to fear the final ruin of our cause.

Next morning several parties of the enemy appeared upon the plains in our front. On receiving this intelligence, General Washington rode quickly to the out-posts, for the purpose of preparing against an attack, if the enemy should advance with that design. Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton's rangers, a fine selection from the eastern regiments, who had been skirmishing with an advanced party, came in, and informed the General that a body of British were under cover of a small eminence at no considerable distance. His Excellency, willing to raise our men from their dejection by the splendour of some little success, ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton, with his rangers, and Major Leitch, with three companies of Weedon's regiment of Virginians, to gain their rear; while appearances should be made of an attack in front. As soon as the enemy saw the party sent to de-

coy them, they ran precipitately down the hill, took possession of some fences and bushes, and commenced a brisk firing at long shot. Unfortunately Knowlton and Leitch made their onset rather in flank than in rear. The enemy changed their front, and the skirmish at once became close and warm. Major Leitch* having received three balls through his side, was soon borne from the field; and Colonel Knowlton, who had distinguished himself so gallantly at the battle of Bunker-Hill, was mortally wounded immediately after. Their men, however, undaunted by these disasters, stimulated with the thirst of revenge for the loss of their leaders, and, conscious of acting under the eye of the Commander in Chief, maintained the conflict with uncommon spirit and perseverance. But the General, seeing them in need of support, advanced part of the Maryland regiments of Griffith and Richardson, together with some detachments from such eastern corps as chanced to be most contiguous to the place of action. Our troops this day, without exception, behaved with the greatest intrepidity. So bravely did they repulse the British, that Sir William Howe moved his *reserve*, with two field pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and a company of Chasseurs, to succour his retreating troops. General Washington, not willing to draw on a

* Major Leitch, after languishing some days, died of a locked jaw.

general action, declined pressing the pursuit. In this engagement were the second and third battalions of light infantry, the forty-second British regiment, and the German Chasseurs, of whom eight officers, and upwards of seventy privates were wounded, and our people buried nearly twenty, who were left dead on the field. We had about forty wounded: our loss in killed, except of two valuable officers, was very inconsiderable.

An advantage,* so trivial in itself, produced, in event, a surprising and almost incredible effect upon the whole army. Amongst the troops not engaged, who, during the action, were throwing earth from the new trenches, with an alacrity that indicated a determination to defend them, every visage was seen to bright-

* A transcript from General Washington's Public Orders of the seventeenth will, better than any other document that could be adduced, show his sentiment on the conduct of the two preceding days, and how fervently he wished to foster the good dispositions discovered on the last.

"ORDERS.

"*Head-Quarters, Harlaem Heights, September* 17, 1776.

"Parole, *Leitch.* Countersign, *Virginia.*

"The General most heartily thanks the troops commanded yesterday by Major Leitch, who first advanced upon the enemy, and the others who so resolutely supported them. The behaviour yesterday was such a contrast to that of some of the troops the day before, as must show what may be done, where officers and soldiers will exert themselves. Once more, therefore, the General calls upon officers and men, to act up to the noble cause in which they are engaged, and to support the *honour* and *liberties* of their country.

"The gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honour to any country, having fallen yesterday, while gloriously fighting, Captain Brown is to take the command of the party lately led by Colonel Knowlton. Officers and men are to obey him accordingly."

en, and to assume, instead of the gloom of despair, the glow of animation. This change, no less sudden than happy, left little room to doubt that the men, who ran the day before at the sight of an enemy, would now, to wipe away the stain of that disgrace, and to recover the confidence of their General, have conducted themselves in a very different manner. Some alteration was made in the distribution of corps to prevent the British from gaining either flank in the succeeding night. General Putnam, who commanded on the right, was directed in orders, in case the enemy should attempt to force the pass, to apply for a reinforcement to General Spencer, who commanded on the left.

General Putnam, who was too good an husbandman himself not to have a respect for the labours and improvements of others, strenuously seconded the views of the Commander in Chief in preventing the devastation of farms, and the violation of private property. For under pretext that the property in this quarter belonged to friends to the British government, as indeed it mostly did, a spirit of rapine and licentiousness began to prevail, which, unless repressed in the beginning, foreboded, besides the subversion of discipline, the disgrace and defeat of our arms.

Our new defences now becoming so strong as not to admit insult with impunity, and Sir William Howe, not choosing to place too much

at risk in attacking us in front, on the 12th day of October, leaving Lord Percy with one Hessian and two British brigades, in his lines at Harlaem, to cover New-York, embarked with the main body of his army, with an intention of landing at *Frog's Neck*, situated near the town of West-Chester, and little more than a league above the communication called King's-bridge, which connects New-York Island with the main. There was nothing to oppose him; and he effected his debarkation by nine o'clock in the morning. The same policy of keeping our army as compact as possible; the same system of avoiding being forced to action; and the same precaution to prevent the interruption of supplies, reinforcements or retreat, that lately dictated the evacuation of New-York, now induced General Washington to move towards the strong grounds in the upper part of West-Chester county.

About the same time General Putnam was sent to the western side of the Hudson, to provide against an irruption into the Jerseys, and soon after to Philadelphia, to put that town into a posture of defence.* Thither I

* From the preceding paragraph it would seem that General Putnam was detached, first to New-Jersey, and soon afterwards to Philadelphia, immediately after the movement of the British army to Frog's neck. The truth is, he was with the army at White-Plains, and had part in the action fought there the 28th of October. It was the position of Brigadier-General M'Dougal which was attacked, and Washington ordered a detachment of the army under Major-General Putnam to support him. Some days after this ac-

attend him, without stooping to dilate on the subsequent incidents, that might swell a folio, though here compressed to a single paragraph; without attempting to give in detail the skilful retrograde movements of our Commander in Chief, who, after detaching a garrison for Fort Washington, by pre-occupying with extemporaneous redoubts and entrenchments, the ridges from *Mile-Square* to *White-Plains*, and by folding one brigade behind another, in rear of those ridges that run parallel with the *Sound*, brought off all his artillery, stores, and sick, in the face of a superior foe; without commenting on the partial and equivocal battle fought near the last mentioned village, or the cause why the British, then in full force, (for the last of the Hessian infantry and British light-horse had just arrived) did not more seriously endeavour to induce a general engagement; without journalizing their military manœuvres in falling back to King's-bridge, capturing Fort Washington, Fort Lee, and marching through the Jerseys; without enumerating the instances of rapine, murder, lust, and devastation, that marked their progress,

tion, General Putnam was ordered to cross the Hudson, and provide against an irruption of the enemy into New-Jersey. He was soon followed by Washington with part of his army, which took post in the vicinity of Fort Lee, and, after the fall of that Fort, General Putnam was constantly about his person during the whole retreat through New-Jersey, and among the last of the fugitive army which crossed the Delaware:—then it was, that he was ordered to Philadelphia to fortify and defend that city, which Congress had ordered to be defended to the last extremity. *(Editor.)*

and filled our bosoms with horror and indignation; without describing how a division of our dissolving army, with General Washington, was driven before them beyond the Delaware; without painting the naked and forlorn condition of these much injured men, amidst the rigours of an inclement season; and without even sketching the consternation that seized the States at this perilous period, when General Lee, in leading from the north a small reinforcement to our troops, was himself taken prisoner by surprise; when every thing seemed decidedly declining to the last extremity, and when every prospect but served to augment the depression of despair—until the genius of one man, in one day, at a single stroke, wrested from the veteran battalions of Britain and Germany the fruits acquired by the total operations of a successful campaign, and re-animated the expiring hope of a whole nation, by the glorious enterprize at Trenton.

While the hostile forces, rashly inflated with pride by a series of uninterrupted successes, and fondly dreaming that a period would soon be put to their labours, by the completion of their conquests, had been pursuing the wretched remnants of a disbanded army to the banks of the Delaware, General Putnam was diligently employed in fortifying Philadelphia, the capture of which appeared indubitably to be their principal object. Here, by authority and example, he strove to concili-

ate contending factions, and to excite the citizens to uncommon efforts in defence of every thing interesting to freemen. His personal industry was unparalleled. His orders,* with respect to extinguishing accidental fires, advancing the public works, as well as in regard to other important objects, were perfectly military and proper. But his health was, for a while, impaired by his unrelaxed exertions.

The Commander in Chief having, in spite of all obstacles, made good his retreat over the Delaware, wrote to General Putnam from his Camp above the Falls of Trenton, on the very day he re-crossed the river to surprise the Hessians, expressing his satisfaction at the re-establishment of that General's health, and informing, that if he had not himself been well convinced before of the enemy's intention to possess themselves of Philadelphia, as soon as the frost should form ice strong enough to

* As a specimen, the following is preserved:

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"*Head-Quarters, Philadelphia, December* 14, 1776.

"Colonel Griffin is appointed Adjutant-General to the troops in and about this city. All orders from the General, through him, either written or verbal, are to be strictly attended to and punctually obeyed.

"In case of an alarm of fire, the city guards and patroles are to suffer the inhabitants to pass, unmolested, at any hour of the night; and the good people of Philadelphia are earnestly requested and desired to give every assistance in their power, with engines and buckets, to extinguish the fire. And as the Congress have ordered the city to be defended to the last extremity, the General hopes that no person will refuse to give every assistance possible to complete the fortifications that are to be erected in and about the city.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM."

transport them and their artillery across the Delaware, he had now obtained an intercepted letter which placed the matter beyond a doubt. He added, that if the citizens of Philadelphia had any regard for the town, not a moment's time was to be lost until it should be put in the best possible posture of defence; but least that should not be done, he directed the removal of all public stores, except provisions necessary for immediate use, to places of greater security. He queried whether, if a party of militia could be sent from Philadelphia to support those in the Jerseys, about Mount-Holly, it would not serve to save them from submission? At the same time he signified, as his opinion, the expediency of sending an active and influential officer to inspirit the people, to encourage them to assemble in arms, as well as to keep those already in arms from disbanding; and concluded by manifesting a wish that Colonel Forman, whom he desired to see for this purpose, might be employed on the service.

The enemy had vainly, as incautiously, imagined that to overrun was to conquer. They had even carried their presumption on our extreme weakness, and expected submission so far as to attempt covering the country through which they had marched with an extensive chain of cantonments. That link, which the post at Trenton supplied, consisted of a Hessian brigade of infantry, a company of Chas-

seurs, a squadron of light dragoons, and six field pieces. At eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth of December, G neral Washington, with twenty-four hundred men, came upon them, after they had paraded, took one thousand prisoners, and re-passed the same day, without loss, to his encampment. As soon as the troops were recovered from their excessive fatigue, General Washington re-crossed a second time to Trenton. On the second of January, Lord Cornwallis, with the bulk of the British army, advanced upon him, cannonaded his post, and offered him battle: but the two armies being separated by the interposition of Trenton Creek, General Washington had it in his option to decline an engagement, which he did for the sake of striking the masterly stroke that he then meditated. Having kindled frequent fires around his camp, posted faithful men to keep them burning, and advanced sentinels, whose fidelity might be relied upon, he decamped silently after dark, and, by a circuitous route, reached Princeton at nine o'clock the next morning. The noise of the firing, by which he killed and captured between five and six hundred of the British brigade in that town, was the first notice Lord Cornwallis had of this stolen march. General Washington, the project successfully accomplished, instantly filed off for the mountainous grounds of Morris-Town. Meanwhile, his Lordship, who arrived, by a forced march,

at Princeton, just as he had left it, finding the Americans could not be overtaken, proceeded, without halting, to Brunswick.

On the fifth of January, 1777, from Pluckemin, General Washington despatched an account of this second success to General Putnam, and ordered him to move immediately, with all his troops, to Croswick's, for the purpose of co-operating in recovering the Jerseys; an event which the present fortunate juncture, while the enemy were yet panic-struck, appeared to promise. The General cautioned him, however, if the enemy should still continue at Brunswick, to guard with great circumspection against a surprise; especially as they, having recently suffered by two attacks, could scarcely avoid being edged with resentment to attempt retaliation. His Excellency farther advised him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was; to forward on all the baggage and scattering men belonging to the division destined for Morris-Town; to employ as many spies as he should think proper; to keep a number of horsemen, in the dress of the country, going constantly backwards and forwards on the same secret service; and, lastly, if he should discover any intention or motion of the enemy that could be depended upon, and might be of consequence, not to fail in conveying the intelligence, as rapidly as possible by express, to Head-Quarters. Major-General Putnam was directed soon af-

ter to take post at Princeton, were he continued until the spring. He had never with him more than a few hundred troops, though he was only at fifteen miles distant from the enemy's strong garrison of Brunswick. At one period, from a sudden diminution, occasioned by the tardiness of the militia turning out to replace those whose time of service was expired, he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard. Nor was the Commander in Chief in a more eligible situation. It is true, that while he had scarcely the semblance of an army, under the specious parade of a park of artillery, and the imposing appearance of his Head-Quarters, established at Morris-Town, he kept up, in the eyes of his countrymen, as well as in the opinion of his enemy, the appearance of no contemptible force. Future generations will find difficulty in conceiving how a handful of new-levied men and militia, who were necessitated to be inoculated for the small-pox in the course of the winter, could be subdivided and posted so advantageously, as effectually to protect the inhabitants, confine the enemy, curtail their forage, and beat up their quarters, without sustaining a single disaster.

In the battle of Princeton, Captain M'Pherson, of the 17th British regiment, a very worthy Scotchman, was desperately wounded in the lungs, and left with the dead. Upon General Putnam's arrival there, he found him lan-

guishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without a single accommodation, and without a friend to solace the sinking spirit in the gloomy hour of death. He visited, and immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him. Captain M'Pherson, who, contrary to all appearances, recovered, after having demonstrated to General Putnam the dignified sense of obligations which a generous mind wishes not to conceal, one day, in familiar conversation, demanded, "Pray, Sir, what countryman are you?"—"An American," answered the latter.—"Not a Yankee?" said the other.—"A full blooded one," replied the General. "By G—d, I am sorry for that," rejoined M'Pherson, "I did not think there could be so much goodness and generosity in an American, or, indeed, in any body but a Scotchman."

While the recovery of Captain M'Pherson was doubtful, he desired that General Putnam would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making HIS WILL. General Putnam, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. On the one hand, he was not content that a British officer should have an opportunity to spy out the weakness of his post; on the other, it was scarcely in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient which he has-

tened to put in practice. A flag of truce was despatched with Captain M'Pherson's request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend until after dark. In the evening lights were placed in all the rooms of the College, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty men, sometimes altogether, and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters by the house in which M'Pherson lay. Afterwards it was known that the officer who came on the visit, at his return, reported that General Putnam's army, upon the most moderate calculation, could not consist of less than four or five thousand men.

This winter's campaign, for our troops constantly kept the field after regaining a footing in the Jerseys, has never yet been faithfully and feelingly described. The sudden restoration of our cause from the very verge of ruin was interwoven with such a tissue of inscrutable causes and extraordinary events, that, fearful of doing the subject greater injustice, by a passing disquisition than a purposed silence, I leave it to the leisure of abler pens. The ill policy of the British doubtless contributed to accelerate this event. For the manner, impolitic as inhuman, in which they managed their temporary conquests, tended evidently to alienate the affections of their adherents, to confirm the wavering in an opposite

interest, to rouse the supine into activity, to assemble the dispersed to the standard of America, and to infuse a spirit of revolt into the minds of those men who had, from necessity, submitted to their power. Their conduct in warring with fire and sword against the imbecility of youth, and the decrepitude of age; against the arts, the sciences, the curious inventions, and the elegant improvements in civilized life; against the melancholy widow, the miserable orphan, the peaceable professor of humane literature, and the sacred minister of the gospel, seemed to operate as powerfully, as if purposely intended to kindle the dormant spark of resistance into an inextinguishable flame. If we add to the black catalogue of provocations already enumerated their insatiable rapacity in plundering friends and foes indiscriminately; their libidinous brutality in violating the chastity of the female sex; their more than Gothic rage in defacing private writings, public records, libraries of learning, dwellings of individuals, edifices for education, and temples of the Deity; together with their insufferable ferocity, unprecedented indeed among civilized nations, in murdering on the field of battle the wounded while begging for mercy, in causing their prisoners to famish with hunger and cold in prisons and prison ships, and in carrying their malice beyond death itself, by denying the decent rites of sepulture to the dead; we shall not be aston-

ished that the yeomanry in the two Jerseys, when the first glimmering of hope began to break in upon them, rose as one man, with the unalterable resolution to perish in the generous cause, or expel their merciless invaders.

The principal officers, stationed at a variety of well-chosen, and at some almost inaccessible positions, seemed all to be actuated by the same soul, and only to vie with each other in giving proofs of vigilance, enterprise and valour. From what has been said respecting the scantiness of our aggregate force, it will be concluded, that the number of men, under the orders of each, was indeed very small. But the uncommon alertness of the troops, who were incessantly hovering round the enemy in scouts, and the constant communication they kept between the several stations most contiguous to each other, agreeably to the instructions* of the General in Chief, together

* The annexed private orders to Lord Stirling will show, in a laconic and military manner, the system of service then pursued :

"To Brigadier-General Lord STIRLING.

"MY LORD,

"You are to repair to Baskenridge, and take upon you the command of the troops now there, and such as may be sent to your care.

"You are to endeavour, as much as possible, to harass and annoy the enemy, by keeping scouting parties constantly, or as frequently as possible, around their quarters.

"As you will be in the neighbourhood of Generals Dickenson and Warner, I recommend it to you to keep up a correspondence with them, and endeavour to regulate your parties by theirs, so as to have some constantly out.

"Use every means in your power to obtain intelligence from the enemy; which may possibly be better effected by engaging some

with their readiness in giving, and confidence of receiving such reciprocal aid as the exigencies might require, served to supply the defect of force.

This manner of doing duty not only put our own posts beyond the reach of sudden insult and surprise, but so exceedingly harassed and intimidated the enemy, that foragers were seldom sent out by them, and never except in very large parties. General Dickenson, who commanded on General Putnam's left, discovered, about the 20th of January, a foraging party, consisting of about four hundred men, on the opposite side of the *Mill-stone*, two miles from Somerset court-house. As the bridge was possessed and defended by three field-pieces, so that it could not be passed, General Dickenson, at the head of four hundred militia, broke the ice, crossed the river where the water was about three feet deep, resolutely attacked, and totally defeated the foragers. Upon their abandoning the convoy, a few prisoners, forty waggons, and more than a hundred draft horses, with a considerable booty of cattle and sheep, fell into his hands.

of those people who have obtained *Protections* to go in, under pretence of asking advice, than by any other means.

"You will also use every means in your power to obtain and communicate the earliest accounts of the enemy's movements; and to assemble, in the speediest manner possible, your troops either for offence or defence

"*Given at Head-Quarters, the fourth day of February*, 1777.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

Nor were our operations on General Putnam's right flank less fortunate. To give countenance to the numerous friends of the British government in the county of Monmouth appears to have been a principal motive with Sir William Howe for stretching the chain of his cantonments, by his own confession,* previously to his disaster, rather too far. After that chain became broken, as I have already related, by the blows at Trenton and Princeton, he was obliged to collect, during the rest of the winter, the useless remains in his barracks at Brunswick. In the meantime, General Putnam was much more successful in his attempts to protect our dispersed and dispirited friends in the same district; who, environed on every side by envenomed adversaries, remained inseparably rivetted in affection to American independence. He first detached Colonel Gurney, and afterwards Ma-

* *Extract of a letter from General Sir* WILLIAM HOWE *to Lord* GEORGE GERMAINE, *dated New-York, December* 20, 1776.

Having mentioned the fruitless attempt of Lord Cornwallis to find boats at Corryel's ferry to pass the Delaware—he proceeds thus:

"The passage of the Delaware being thus rendered impracticable, his Lordship took post at Pennington, in which place and Trenton the two divisions remained until the fourteenth, when the weather having become too severe to keep the field, and the winter cantonments being arranged, the troops marched from both places to their respective stations. *The chain, I own, is rather too extensive,* but I was induced to occupy Burlington to cover the county of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants; and trusting to the almost general submission of the country to the southward of this chain, and to the strength of the corps placed in the advanced posts, I conclude the troops will be in perfect security."

jor Davis,* with such parties of militia as could be spared, for their support. Several skirmishes ensued, in which our people had always the advantage. They took, at different times, many prisoners, horses and waggons from foraging parties. In effect, so well did they cover the country, as to induce some of the most respectable inhabitants to declare, that the security of the persons, as well as the salvation of the property of many friends to freedom was owing to the spirited exertions of these two detachments; who, at the same time that they rescued the country from the tyranny of tories, afforded an opportunity for the militia to recover from their consternation, to embody themselves in warlike array, and to stand on their defence.

During this period, General Putnam having received unquestionable intelligence that a party of refugees, in British pay, had taken post, and were erecting a kind of redoubt at Lawrence's Neck, sent Colonel Nelson, with

* As there happened to be in my possession a copy of one of his letters to those officers, it was thought worthy of insertion here, in order to demonstrate his satisfaction with their conduct.

"To Major JOHN DAVIS, of the third Battalion of Cumberland County Militia.

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to you for your activity, vigour, and diligence since you have been under my command; you will, therefore, march your men to Philadelphia, and there discharge them; returning into the store all the ammunition, arms and accoutrements you received at that place.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"*Princeton, February 5, 1777.*"

one hundred and fifty militia, to surprise them. That officer conducted with so much secrecy and decision as to take the whole prisoners. These refugees* were commanded by Major Stockton, belonging to Skinner's brigade, and amounted to sixty in number.

A short time after this event Lord Cornwallis sent out another foraging party towards Bound-Brook. General Putnam, having received notice from his emissaries, detached Major Smith, with a few riflemen, to annoy the party, and followed himself with the rest of his force. Before he could come up, Major Smith, who had formed an ambush, attacked the enemy, killed several horses, took a few prisoners and sixteen baggage-waggons, without sustaining any injury. By such operations, our hero, in the course of the winter, captured nearly a thousand prisoners.

In the latter part of February General Washington advised General Putnam, that, in consequence of a large accession of strength from New-York to the British army at Brunswick, it was to be apprehended they would soon make a forward movement towards the

* *Extract of a letter from General* PUTNAM *to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, dated at Princeton, February* 18, 1777.

"Yesterday evening Colonel Nelson, with a hundred and fifty men, at Lawrence's Neck, attacked sixty men of Cortlandt Skinner's Brigade, commanded by the enemy's RENOWNED LAND PILOT *Major Richard Stockton*, routed them, and took the whole prisoners—among them the Major, a Captain and three subalterns, with seventy stand of arms. *Fifty of the Bedford Pennsylvania Riflemen behaved like veterans.*"

Delaware: in which case the latter was directed to cross the river with his actual force, to assume the command of the militia who might assemble, to secure the boats on the west side of the Delaware, and to facilitate the passage of the rest of the army. But the enemy did not remove from their winter-quarters until the season arrived when green forage could be supplied. In the intermediate period, the correspondence on the part of General Putnam with the Commander in Chief consisted principally of reports and enquiries concerning the treatment of some of the following descriptions of persons: either of those who came within our lines with flags and pretended flags, or who had taken protection from the enemy, or who had been reputed disaffected to our cause, or who were designed to be comprehended in the American Proclamation, which required that those who had taken protections should give them to the nearest American officer, or go within the British lines. The letters of his Excellency in return, generally advisory, were indicative of confidence and approbation.

When the spring had now so far advanced that it was obvious the enemy would soon take the field, the Commander in Chief, after desiring General Putnam to give the officer who was to relieve him at Princeton, all the information necessary for the conduct of that post, appointed that General to the command of a separate army in the Highlands of New-York.

It is scarcely decided, from any documents yet published, whether the preposterous plans prosecuted by the British Generals in the campaign of 1777, were altogether the result of their orders from home, or whether they partly originated from the contiugences of the moment. The system which, at the time, tended to puzzle all human conjecture, when developed, served also to contradict all reasonable calculation. Certain it is, the American Commander in Chief was, for a considerable time, so perplexed with contradictory appearances, that he knew not how to distribute his troops, with his usual discernment, so as to oppose the enemy with equal prospect of success in different parts. The gathering tempests menaced the northern frontiers, the posts in the Highlands, and the city of Philadelphia; but it was still doubtful where the fury of the storm would fall. At one time Sir William Howe was forcing his way by land to Philadelphia; at another, relinquishing the Jerseys; at a third, facing round to make a sudden inroad; then embarking with all the forces that could be spared from New-York; and then putting out to sea, at the very moment when General Burgoyne had reduced Ticonderoga, and seemed to require a co-operation in another quarter.

On our side, we have seen that the old Continental army expired with the year 1776; since which, invention had been tortured with

expedients, and zeal with efforts to levy another: for on the success of the recruiting service depended the salvation of the country. The success was such as not to puff us up to presumption, or depress us to despair. The army in the Jerseys, under the orders of the General in Chief, consisted of all the troops raised south of the Hudson; that in the northern department, of the New-Hampshire brigade, two brigades of Massachusetts, and the brigade of New-York, together with some irregular corps; and that in the Highlands, of the remaining two brigades of Massachusetts, the Connecticut line, consisting of two brigades, the brigade of Rhode-Island, and one regiment of New-York. Upon hearing of the loss of Ticonderoga, and the progress of the British towards Albany, General Washington ordered the northern army to be reinforced with the two brigades of Massachusetts, then in the Highlands; and, upon finding the army under his immediate command out-numbered by that of Sir William Howe, which had, by the circuitous route of the Chesapeak, invaded Pennsylvania, he also called from the Highlands one of the Connecticut brigades, and that of Rhode-Island to his own assistance.

In the neighbourhood of General Putnam there was no enemy capable of exciting alarms. The army left at New-York seemed only designed for its defence. In it were several entire corps, composed of tories, who had flock-

ed to the British standard. There was, besides, a band of lurking miscreants, not properly enrolled, who staid chiefly at West-Chester; from whence they infested the country between the two armies, pillaged the cattle, and carried off the peaceable inhabitants. It was an unworthy policy in British generals to patronize banditti. The whig inhabitants on the edge of our lines, and still lower down, who had been plundered in a merciless manner, delayed not to strip the tories in return. People most nearly connected and allied frequently became most exasperated and inveterate in malice. Then the ties of fellowship were broken—then friendship itself being soured to enmity, the mind readily gave way to private revenge, uncontrolled retaliation, and all the deforming passions that disgrace humanity. Enormities, almost without a name, were perpetrated, at the description of which, the bosom, not frozen to apathy, must glow with a mixture of pity and indignation. To prevent the predatory incursions from below, and to cover the county of West-Chester, General Putnam detached from his Head-Quarters, at Peek's-Kill, Meigs's regiment, which, in the course of the campaign, struck several partizan strokes, and achieved the objects for which it was sent. He likewise took measures, without noise or ostentation, to secure himself from being surprised and carried within the British lines by the tories, who had formed a plan for

the purpose. The information of this intended enterprise, conveyed to him through several channels, was corroborated by that obtained and transmitted by the Commander in Chief.

It was not wonderful that many of these tories were able, undiscovered, to penetrate far into the country, and even to go with letters or messages from one British army to another. The inhabitants who were well affected to the royal cause, afforded them every possible support, and their own knowledge of the different routes gave them a farther facility in performing their perigrinations. Sometimes the most active loyalists, as the tories wished to denominate themselves, who had gone into the British posts, and received promises of commissions upon enlisting a certain number of soldiers, came back again secretly with recruiting instructions. Sometimes these, and others who came from the enemy within the verge of our camps, were detected and condemned to death, in conformity to the usages of war. But the British generals, who had an unlimited supply of money at their command, were able to pay with so much liberality, that emissaries could always be found. Still, it is thought that the intelligence of the American commanders was, at least, equally accurate; notwithstanding the poverty of their military chest, and the inability of rewarding mercenary agents, for secret services, in proportion to their risk and merit.

A person, by the name of Palmer, who was a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was de-

tected in the camp at Peek's Kill. Governor Tryon, who commanded the new levies, reclaimed him as a British officer, represented the heinous crime of condemning a man commissioned by his Majesty, and threatened vengeance in case he should be executed. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply.

"SIR,

"Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your King's service, was taken in my camp as a *Spy*—he was tried as a *Spy*—he was condemned as a *Spy*—and you may rest assured, Sir, he shall be hanged as a *Spy*."

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"*His Excellency Governor* TRYON.

"P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

Important transactions soon occurred. Not long after the two brigades had marched from Peek's-Kill to Pennsylvania, a reinforcement arrived at New-York from Europe. Appearances indicated that offensive operations would follow. General Putnam having been reduced in force to a single brigade in the field, and a single regiment in garrison at Fort Montgomery, repeatedly informed the Commander in Chief, that the posts committed to his charge must, in all probability, be lost, in case an attempt should be made upon them; and that, circumstanced as he was, he could not be res-

ponsible for the consequences. His situation was certainly to be lamented; but it was not in the power of the Commander in Chief to alter it, except by authorising him to call upon the militia for aid—an aid always precarious, and often so tardy, as, when obtained, to be of no utility.

On the fifth of October Sir Henry Clinton came up the North-River with three thousand men. After making many feints to mislead the attention, he landed, the next morning, at Stony-Point, and commenced his march over the mountains to Fort Montgomery. Governor Clinton, an active, resolute, and intelligent officer, who commanded the garrison, upon being apprised of the movement, despatched a letter, by express, to General Putnam for succour. By the treachery of the messenger, the letter miscarried. General Putnam, astonished at hearing nothing respecting the enemy, rode, with General Parsons, and Colonel Root, his Adjutant-General, to reconnoitre them at King's Ferry. In the mean-time, at five o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Henry Clinton's columns, having surmounted the obstacles and barriers of nature, descended from the Thunder-Hill, through thickets impassible but for light troops, and *attacked the differ-

* The author of these Memoirs, then Major of Brigade to the first Connecticut brigade, was alone at Head-Quarters when the firing began. He hastened to Colonel Wyllys, the senior officer in camp, and advised him to despatch all the men not on duty to Fort Montgomery, without waiting for orders. About five hun-

ent redoubts. The garrison, inspired by the conduct of their leaders, defended the works with distinguished valour. But, as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships. and as an assault in rear had not been expected, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. In the dusk of twilight, the British entered with their bayonets fixed. Their loss was inconsiderable. Nor was that of the garrison great. Governor Clinton, his brother General James Clinton, Colonel Dubois, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed. The capture of this fort by Sir Henry Clinton, together with the consequent removal of the chains and booms that obstructed the navigation, opened a passage to

dred men marched instantly under Colonel Meigs; and the author, with Dr. Beardsley, a surgeon in the brigade, rode, at full speed, through a bye-path, to let the garrison know, that a reinforcement was on its march. Notwithstanding all the haste these officers made to and over the river, the fort was so completely invested on their arrival, that it was impossible to enter. They went on board the new frigate which lay near the fortress, and had the misfortune to be alive, though not unconcerned spectators of the storm. They saw the minutest actions distinctly when the works were carried. The frigate, after receiving several platoons, slipped her cable, and proceeded a little way up the river; but the wind and tide becoming adverse, the crew set her on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, whose ships were approaching. The louring darkness of the night, the profound stillness that reigned, the interrupted flashes of the flames that illuminated the waters, the long shadows of the cliffs that now and then were seen, the explosion of the cannon which were left loaded in the ship, and the reverberating echo which resounded, at intervals, between the stupendous mountains on both sides of the river, composed an awful night-piece for persons prepared by the preceding scene, to contemplate subjects of horrid sublimity.

Albany, and seemed to favour a junction of his force with that of General Burgoyne. But the latter having been compelled to capitulate a few days after this event, and great numbers of militia having arrived from New-England, the successful army returned to New-York; yet not before a detachment from it, under the orders of General Vaughan, had burnt the defenceless town of Esopus, and several scattering buildings on the banks of the river.

Notwithstanding the army in the Highlands had been so much weakened, for the sake of strengthening the armies in other quarters, as to have occasioned the loss of Fort Montgomery, yet that loss was productive of no consequences. Our main army in Pennsylvania, after having contended with superior force in two indecisive battles, still held the enemy in check; while the splendid success which attended our arms at the northward, gave a more favourable aspect to the American affairs, at the close of this campaign, than they had ever before assumed.

When the enemy fell back to New-York by water, we followed them a part of the way by land. Colonel Meigs, with a detachment from the several regiments in General Parsons's brigade, having made a forced march from Crompond to West-Chester, surprised and broke up for a time the band of freebooters, of whom he brought off fifty, together with many cattle and horses which they had recently stolen.

Soon after this enterprise General Putnam advanced towards the British lines. As he had received intelligence that small bodies of the enemy were out, with orders from Governor Tryon to burn Wright's mills, he prevented it by detaching three parties, of one hundred men in each. One of these parties fell in with and captured thirty-five, and another forty of the new levies. But as he could not prevent a third hostile party from burning the house of Mr. Van Tassel, a noted whig and a committee-man, who was forced to go along with them, naked and barefoot, on the icy ground, in a freezing night, he, for the professed purpose of retaliation, sent Captain Buchanan, in a whale-boat, to burn the house of General Oliver Delancy on York-Island. Buchanan effected his object, and by this expedition put a period, for the present, to that unmeaning and wanton species of destruction.

While General Putnam quartered at New-Rochel, a scouting party, which had been sent to West-Farms, below West-Chester, surrounded the house in which Colonel James Delancy lodged, and, notwithstanding he crept under the bed the better to be concealed, brought him to Head-Quarters before morning. This officer was exchanged by the British General without delay, and placed at the head of the cow-boys, a licentious corps of irregulars, who in the sequel, committed unheard of depredations and excesses.

It was distressing to see so beautiful a part of the country so barbarously wasted, and often to witness some peculiar scene of female misery: for most of the female inhabitants had been obliged to fly within the lines possessed by one army or the other. Near our quarters was an affecting instance of human vicissitude. Mr. William Sutton, of Maroneck, an inoffensive man, a merchant by profession, who lived in a decent fashion, and whose family had as happy prospects as almost any in the country, upon some imputation of toryism, went to the enemy. His wife, oppressed with grief in the disagreeable state of dereliction, did not long survive. Betsey Sutton, their eldest daughter, was a modest and lovely young woman, of about fifteen years old, when, at the death of her mother, the care of five or six younger children devolved upon her. She was discreet and provident beyond her years; but when we saw her, she looked to be feeble in health—broken in spirit—wan, melancholy, and dejected. She said "that their last cow, which furnished milk for the children, had lately been taken away—that they had frequently been plundered of their wearing apparel and furniture, she believed by both parties—that they had little more to lose—and that she knew not where to procure bread for the dear little ones, who had no father to provide for them"—*no mother*—she was going to have said—but a torrent of tears

choaked articulation. In coming to that part of the country again, after some campaigns had elapsed, I found the habitation desolate, and the garden overgrown with weeds. Upon inquiry, I learnt, that as soon as we left the place, some ruffians broke into the house while she lay in bed, in the latter part of the night; and that, having been terrified by their rudeness, she ran, half-naked, into a neighbouring swamp, where she continued until the morning—there the poor girl caught a violent cold, which ended in a consumption. It finished a life without a spot—and a career of sufferings commenced and continued without a fault.

Sights of wretchedness always touched with commiseration the feelings of General Putnam, and prompted his generous soul to succour the afflicted. But the indulgence which he showed, whenever it did not militate against his duty, towards the deserted and suffering families of the tories in the State of New-York, was the cause of his becoming unpopular with no inconsiderable class of people in that State. On the other side, he had conceived an unconquerable aversion to many of the persons who were entrusted with the disposal of tory-property, because he believed them to have been guilty of peculations and other infamous practices. But although the enmity between him and the sequestrators was acrimonious as mutual, yet he lived in habits of amity with the

most respectable characters in public departments, as well as in private life.

His character was also respected by the enemy. He had been acquainted with many of the principal officers in a former war. As flags frequently passed between the out-posts, during his continuance on the lines, it was a common practice to forward newspapers by them; and as those printed by Rivington, the royal printer in New-York, were infamous for the falsehoods with which they abounded, General Putnam once sent a packet to his old friend General Robertson, with this billet: "Major-General Putnam presents his compliments to Major-General Robertson, and sends him some American newspapers for his perusal—when General Robertson shall have done with them, it is requested they be given to Rivington, in order that he may print some truth."

Late in the year we left the lines and repaired to the Highlands; for upon the loss of Fort Montgomery, the Commander in Chief determined to build another fortification for the defence of the river. His Excellency, accordingly, wrote to General Putnam to fix upon the spot. After reconnoitering all the different places proposed, and revolving in his own mind their relative advantages for offence on the water and defence on the land, he fixed upon WEST-POINT. It is no vulgar praise to say, that to him belongs the glory of having

chosen this rock of our military salvation. The position for water-batteries, which might sweep the channel where the river formed a right angle, made it the most proper of any for commanding the navigation; while the rocky ridges that rose in awful sublimity behind each other, rendered it impregnable, and even incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. The British, who considered this post as a sort of American Gibraltar, never attempted it but by the treachery of an American officer. All the world knows that this project failed, and that West-Point continues to be the receptacle of every thing valuable in military preparations to the present day.

In the month of January, 1778, when a snow, two feet deep, lay on the earth, General Parsons's brigade went to West-Point and broke ground. Want of covering for the troops, together with want of tools and materials for the works, made the prospect truly gloomy and discouraging. It was necessary that means should be found, though our currency was depreciated, and our treasury exhausted. The estimates and requisitions of Colonel la Radiere, the engineer who laid out the works, altogether disproportioned to our circumstances, served only to put us in mind of our poverty, and, as it were, to satirize our resources. His petulent behaviour and unaccommodating disposition added further em-

barrassments. It was then that the patriotism of Governor Clinton shone in full lustre. His exertions to furnish supplies can never be too much commended. His influence, arising from his popularity, was unlimited: yet he hesitated not to put all his popularity at risk, whenever the federal interests demanded. Notwithstanding the impediments that opposed our progress, with his aid, before the opening of the campaign, the works were in great forwardness.

According to a resolution of Congress, an inquiry was to be made into the causes of military disasters. Major-General M'Dougall, Brigadier-General Huntington, and Colonel Wigglesworth composed the Court of Inquiry on the loss of Fort Montgomery. Upon full knowledge and mature deliberation of facts on the spot, they reported the loss to have been occasioned by want of men, and not by any fault in the commanders.

General Putnam, who during the investigation was relieved from duty, as soon as Congress had approved the report, took command of the right wing of the grand army, under the orders of the General in Chief. This was just after the battle of Monmouth, when the three armies which had last year acted separately joined at the White-Plains. Our effective force, in one camp, was at no other time so respectable as at this juncture. The army consisted of sixty regular regiments of foot,

formed into fifteen brigades, four battalions of artillery, four regiments of horse, and several corps of State troops. But as the enemy kept close within their lines on York Island, nothing could be attempted. Towards the end of autumn we broke up the camp, and went first to Fredericksburgh, and thence to winter-quarters.

In order to cover the country adjoining to the *Sound*, and to support the garrison of *West-Point*, in case of an attack, Major-General Putnam was stationed for the winter at Reading, in Connecticut. He had under his orders the brigade of New-Hampshire, the two brigades of Connecticut, the corps of infantry commanded by Hazen, and that of cavalry by Sheldon.

The troops, who had been badly fed, badly cloathed, and worse paid, by brooding over their grievances in the leisure and inactivity of winter-quarters, began to think them intolerable. The Connecticut brigades formed the design of marching to Hartford, where the General Assembly was then in session, and of demanding redress at the point of the bayonet. Word having been brought to General Putnam, that the second brigade was under arms for this purpose, he mounted his horse, galloped to the cantonment, and thus addressed them: "My brave lads, whither are you going? Do you intend to desert your officers, and to invite the enemy to follow you into the

country? Whose cause have you been fighting and suffering so long in—is it not your own? Have you no property, no parents, wives or children? You have behaved like men so far—all the world is full of your praises—and posterity will stand astonished at your deeds: but not if you spoil all at last. Don't you consider how much the country is distressed by the war, and that your officers have not been any better paid than yourselves? But we all expect better times, and that the country will do us ample justice. Let us all stand by one another, then, and fight it out like brave soldiers. Think what a shame it would be for Connecticut men to run away from their officers." After the several regiments had received the General as he rode along the line *with drums beating, and presented arms*, the sergeants who had then the command, brought the men *to an order*, in which position they continued while he was speaking. When he had done, he directed the acting Major of Brigade to give the word for them to shoulder, march to their regimental parades, and lodge arms; all which they executed with promptitude and apparent good humour. One soldier, only, who had been the most active, was confined in the quarter-guard; from whence, at night, he attempted to make his escape. But the sentinel, who had also been in the mutiny, shot him dead on the spot, and thus the affair subsided.

About the middle of winter, while General Putnam was on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these General Putnam had only a picquet of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field-pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, by the meeting-house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picquet to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own, by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the Dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short; for the declivity was so abrupt, that they ventured not to follow; and, before they could gain the valley, by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route, unmolested, to Stanford; from whence, having strengthened his picquet by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and, in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat.* As he rode down the preci-

* In this retreat, though with a very inferior force, General Putnam made about fifty prisoners, part of whom were wounded,

pice, one ball, of the many fired at him, went through his beaver: But Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him, soon afterwards, as a present, a complete suit of clothes.

In the campaign of 1779, which terminated the career of General Putnam's services, he commanded the Maryland line, posted at Butter-Milk falls, about two miles below West-Point. He was happy in possessing the friendship of the officers of that line, and in living on terms of hospitality with them. Indeed, there was no family in the army that lived better than his own. The General, his second son Major Daniel Putnam, and the writer of these memoirs, composed that family. This campaign, principally spent in strengthening the works of West-Point, was only signalized for the storm of Stony-Point by the light-infantry under the conduct of General Wayne, and the surprise of the post of Powles-Hook by the corps under the command of Colonel Henry Lee. When the army quitted the field, and marched to Morris-Town, into winter-quarters, General Putnam's family went into Connecticut for a few weeks. In December the General began his journey to Morris-Town. Upon the road between Pomfret and Hartford,

and the whole were the next day sent, under the escort of an officer's guard, to the British lines for exchange. It was for the humanity and kindness of Putnam to the wounded prisoners, that Governor Tryon complimented him with the "suit of clothes."

he felt an unusual torpor slowly pervading his right hand and foot. This heaviness crept gradually on, until it had deprived him of the use of his limbs on that side, in a considerable degree, before he reached the house of his friend Colonel Wadsworth. Still he was unwilling to consider his disorder of the paralytic kind, and endeavoured to shake it off by exertion. Having found that impossible, a temporary dejection, disguised, however, under a veil of assumed cheerfulness, succeeded. But reason, philosophy, and religion, soon reconciled him to his fate. In that situation he has constantly remained, favoured with such a portion of bodily activity as enables him to walk and to ride moderately; and retaining, unimpaired, his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. As a proof that the powers of memory are not weakened, it ought to be observed, that he has lately repeated, from recollection, all the adventures of his life, which are here recorded, and which had formerly been communicated to the compiler in detached conversations.

In patient, yet fearless expectation of the approach of THE KING OF TERRORS, whom he hath full often faced in the field of blood, the Christian hero now enjoys, in domestic retirement, the fruit of his early industry. Having in youth provided a competent subsistence for old age, he was secured from the danger of

penury and distress, to which so many officers and soldiers, worn out in the public service, have been reduced. To illustrate his merits the more fully, this Essay will be concluded with a copy of the last letter written to him, by General Washington, in his military character.

"*Head-Quarters, 2d June*, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your favour of the 20th of May I received with much pleasure. For I can assure you that among the many worthy and meritorious officers with whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service through the course of this war, and from whose cheerful assistance in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, *the name of a* PUTNAM *is not forgotten*; nor will be but with that stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues through which we have struggled for the preservation and establishment of the *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Independence* of our *Country*.

"Your congratulations on the happy prospects of peace and independent security, with their attendant blessings to the UNITED STATES, I receive with great satisfaction; and beg that you will accept a return of my gratulations to you on this auspicious event—an

event, in which, great as it is in itself, and glorious as it will probably be in its consequences, you have a right to participate largely, from the distinguished part you have contributed towards its attainment.

"But while I contemplate the greatness of the object for which we have contended, and felicitate you on the happy issue of our toils and labours, which have terminated with such general satisfaction, I lament that you should feel the ungrateful returns of a country, in whose service you have exhausted your bodily strength, and expended the vigour of a youthful constitution. I wish, however, that your expectations of returning liberality may be verified. I have a hope they may—but should they not, your case will not be a singular one. *Ingratitude has been experienced in all ages*, and REPUBLICS, *in particular, have ever been famed for the exercise of that unnatural and* SORDID VICE.

"The SECRETARY AT WAR, who is now here, informs me that you have ever been considered as entitled to full pay since your absence from the field, and that you will still be considered in that light until the close of the war; at which period you will be equally entitled to the same emoluments of half-pay or commutation as other officers of your rank. The same opinion is also given by the Pay-Master-General, who is now with the army, empowered by Mr. Morris for the settlement

of all their accounts, and who will attend to your's whenever you shall think proper to send on for the purpose, which it will probably be best for you to do in a short time.

"I anticipate, with pleasure, the day, and that, I trust, not far off, when I shall quit the busy scenes of a military employment, and retire to the more tranquil walks of domestic life. In that, or whatever other situation Providence may dispose of my future days, THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE MANY FRIENDSHIPS AND CONNECTIONS I HAVE HAD THE HAPPINESS TO CONTRACT WITH THE GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMY, WILL BE ONE OF MY MOST GRATEFUL REFLECTIONS. *Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of benevolence and regard, I commend you, my dear Sir, my other friends, and with them, the interests and happiness of our dear country, to the* KEEPING AND PROTECTION OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"*To the Honourable*
"*Major-General* PUTNAM."

The remainder of the life of General Putnam was passed in quiet retirement with his family. He experienced few interruptions in his bodily health, (except the paralytic debility with which he was afflicted) retained full possession of his mental faculties, and enjoyed the society of his friends until the 17th of May, 1790, when he was violently attacked with an inflammatory disease. Satisfied from the first that it would prove mortal, he was calm and resigned, and welcomed the approach of death with joy, as a messenger sent to call him from a life of toil to everlasting rest. On the 19th of May, 1790, he ended a life which had been spent in cultivating and defending the soil of his birth.

Much of his life had been spent in arms, and the military of the neighbourhood were desirous that the rites of sepulture should be accompanied with martial honours: they felt that this last tribute of respect was due to a soldier, who, from a patriotic love of country, had devoted the best part of his life to the defence of her rights, and the establishment of her independence—and who, through long and trying services, was never once reproached for misconduct as an officer; but when disease compelled him to retire from service, left it, beloved and respected by the army and his chief, and with high claims to the grateful remembrance of his country.

Under these impressions, the grenadiers of the 11th regiment, the independent corps of artillerists, and the militia companies in the neighbourhood, assembled each at their appointed rendezvous, early on the morning of the 21st, and having repaired to the late dwelling house of the deceased, a suitable escort was formed, attended by a procession of the Masonic brethren present, and a large concourse of respectable citizens, which moved to the Congregational meeting house in Brooklyn; and, after divine service performed by the Rev. Dr. Whitney, all that was earthly of a patriot and hero was laid in the silent tomb, under the discharge of vollies from the infantry, and minute guns from the artillery.

The following eulogium was pronounced at the grave of General Putnam by Dr. A. Waldo.

"Those venerable relics! once delighted in the endearing domestic virtues, which constitute the excellent neighbour—husband—parent—and worthy brother! liberal and substantial in his friendship;—unsuspicious—open—and generous;—just and sincere in dealing; a benevolent citizen of the world—He concentrated in his bosom, the noble qualities of an HONEST MAN.

"Born a *hero*—whom nature taught and cherished in the lap of innumerable toils and dangers, he was terrible in battle! But, from the amiableness of his heart—when carnage ceased, his humanity spread over the *field*, like the refreshing zephyrs of a summer's evening! —The prisoner—the wounded—the sick—the forlorn—experienced the delicate sympathy of *this* SOLDIER'S PILLAR—The poor, and the needy, of every description, received the charitable bounties of *this* CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

"He pitied littleness—loved goodness—admired greatness, and ever aspired to its glorious summit! The friend, the servant, and almost unparalleled lover of his country;—worn with honourable age, and the former toils of *war*—PUTNAM! 'Rests from his labours.'

"'Till mouldering worlds and tumbling systems burst!
When the last trump shall renovate his dust—
Still by the mandate of eternal truth,
His soul will 'flourish in immortal youth!'"

"This all who knew him know;—this all who lov'd him, tell."

The late Rev. Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College, who knew General Putnam intimately, has portrayed his character faithfully in the following inscription, which is engraven on his tomb.

Sacred be this Monument
to the memory
of
ISRAEL PUTNAM, ESQUIRE,
senior Major General in the armies
of
the United States of America;
who
was born at Salem,
in the Province of Massachusetts,
on the 7th day of January,
A. D. 1718,
and died
on the 19th day of May,
A. D. 1790.
Passenger,
if thou art a Soldier,
drop a tear over the dust of a Hero
who,
ever attentive
to the lives and happiness of his men,
dared to lead
where any dared to follow;
if a Patriot,
remember the distinguished and gallant services
rendered thy country
by the Patriot who sleeps beneath this marble;
if thou art honest, generous and worthy,
render a cheerful tribute of respect
to a man,
whose generosity was singular,
whose honesty was proverbial;
who
raised himself to universal esteem,
and offices of eminent distinction,
by personal worth
and a
useful life.

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

SKETCH

OF

BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

By S. Swett.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT.

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the ninth day of September, A. D. 1818, and in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Samuel Swett of the said district has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, *to wit:*

Historical and topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, with a Plan. By S. Swett.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned: and also to an Act entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

The writer of the following has no ambition or pretensions to be an author, but from his attention to military subjects, consented to describe a battle, one of the most glorious and important ever fought in America, and to render his feeble contribution to the monument of fame which history yet owes our ancestors. The materials lay scattered among newspapers, magazines, records and files of Congress, the scattered surviving veterans of the day, and others. He was compelled by circumstances to commence his researches in July, and finish his sketch in August; but he reminded himself that our fathers fought for us in the same oppressive season, and spared no effort to render the work complete. Not a single fact is stated of which he has not the most satisfactory evidence. That the public however may judge for themselves, he has deposited his documents and proofs for their use at the Boston Athæneum.

tardy process of legislation; they seized their hunting pieces, and flew to join their brethren at the scene of danger.

The Committee of Safety, elected anew by Congress at every session, were the real executive of Massachusetts. The members were now John Hancock and Benjamin Greenleaf, who never took their seats, John Pigeon and Enoch Freeman, seldom present, and Joseph Warren, chairman, Benjamin Church, Benjamin White, Joseph Palmer, Abraham Watson, Samuel Holten, Azor Orne, Nathan Cushing and Richard Devens. They were empowered generally to watch over the safety of the commonwealth, and advise Congress of such measures as they thought beneficial, and expressly commissioned:

"To assemble such and so many of the "Militia and them to dispose and place where "and detain so long as said Committee shall "judge necessary, and discharge said Militia "when the safety of the Colony will admit. "And the officers of the said Militia are en- "joyned to obey the orders and directions of "said Committee of Safety. And also to direct "the army of this Colony to be stationed where "said Committee of Safety shall judge most "conducive to the defence and service of this "Colony, and the general and other officers of "the army are requested to render strict obe-

"dience to such orders of said Committee; but "Congress have power to control any order of "the Committee of Safety. Also to nominate "persons to Congress to be commissioned offi- "cers in the army and to give enlisting orders "to such persons as they think proper. And "if any officers be ready to be commissioned "agreeable to the resolve of this Congress "during the recess of the same the Committee "shall fill up and deliver to them commissions "to be furnished said Committee in blank for "that purpose."

This committee distributed beating or enlisting orders throughout the state to those whom they thought qualified to raise recruits. The number of a company was reduced from one hundred to fifty-nine; and he who could enlist this number was entitled to a captain's commission, and one who procured ten captains with companies to serve under him commanded the regiment. The Congress of Massachusetts issued an eloquent address to the people, which would do honor to any legislature on earth. The recruits came in with spirit, and by the middle of June the New England army of citizen soldiers enlisted for a few months amounted to about fifteen thousand troops.

About ten thousand of these were of Massachusetts; animated with the same love of

liberty which inspired the whole, they were most confident in the rectitude of their cause, in which they were thoroughly instructed by James Otis, who led the forlorn hope of the revolution, John Adams, Quincy, Hancock, Samuel Adams, and other enlightened patriots. And they were fighting battles more peculiarly their own, in defence of their wives, children and homes. But the more animating consideration to them as soldiers, was the chivalrous reputation of their ancestors and themselves, who had been in constant battle and constant victory against their formidable savage foe, and had more recently proved at Nova Scotia and Louisbourgh that they were equally formidable against the civilized troops of Europe.

The troops were organized into regiments under

Colonels	Lt. Colonels	Majors
Hon. Artemas Ward,	Jonathan Ward,	Edward Barns,
		Timothy Bigelow,
Hon. John Thomas,	John Bailey,	Thomas Mitchell,
		John Jacobs,
Timothy Walker,	Nathaniel Leonard,	Abiel Mitchell,
Theophilus Cotton,	Ichabod Alden,	Ebenezer Sprout,
Asa Whitcomb,	Josiah Whitney,	Ephraim Sawyer,
Joseph Read,	Ebenezer Clapp,	Calvin Smith,
John Mansfield,	Israel Hutchinson,	Ezra Putnam,
Timothy Danielson,	William Sheppard,	David Leonard,
William Prescott,	John Robinson,	Henry Wood,
James Frye,	James Brickett,	Thomas Poor,
Ebenezer Bridges,	Moses Parker,	John Brooks,
John Patterson,	Seth Read,	Jeremiah Cady,
James Scammons,	Johnson Moulton,	Daniel Wood,

Colonels	Lt. Colonels	Majors
Ebenezer Learned,	Danforth Keyes,	Jonathan Holman,
Thomas Gardner,	William Bond,	Michael Jackson,
John Nixon,	Thomas Nixon,	John Butterick,
John Fellows,	Nathan Eager,	Benjamin Tupper,
Ephraim Doolittle,	Benjamin Holden,	Willard Moore,
Jonathan Brewer,	William Buckminster,	Nathaniel Cudworth,
David Brewer,	Rufus Putnam,	Nathaniel Danielson,
Hon. William Heath,	John Graten,	Jotham Loring,
		Joseph Vose,
Benj. R. Woodbridge,	Abijah Brown,	William Stacy,
John Glover,	John Gerry,	Gabriel Johonnot,
Moses Little,	Isaac Smith,	James Collins,
Samuel Gerrish.	Loammi Baldwin.	James Weston.

The regiment of artillery was organized under Colonel Richard Gridley, Lieutenant Colonel William Burbeck, Majors David Mason and Scarborough Gridley, and ten captains, with one six, two brass four, and six iron three pound cannon.

Rhode Island had sent a regiment to Massachusetts imbued with the determined spirit of civil and religious liberty, which the founder of their state maintained through every peril. Colonel Green* was their commander, one of the most promising heroes of the revolution. The elements of a soldier were so mixed in him, that the wise already foresaw his elevated rank among warriors the most distinguished. Under him were Lieutenant Colonel Olny and Major Boxan, experienced English soldiers. Two field pieces were attached to the corps.

The hardy yeomanry of New Hampshire, beneath whose ponderous strokes the formidable forests and the savages who inhabited them had been levelled with the ground, who had been used to little control but what the God of Nature imposed, were moved with indignation at approaching tyranny. They flocked as volunteers to the neighbourhood of

* The accomplished scholar, Judge Johnson, is about presenting the public a biography of this hero.

Boston, and chose Colonel Stark, Lieutenant Colonel Wyman and Major M'Clary their leaders.

Their colonel was worthy to command this formidable band; he had been a distinguished captain of Provincial Rangers received into the service of the crown, was at Quebec under General Wolfe, and enjoyed half pay as a British officer, an offering he made with other sacrifices for the good of his country.

Their major also was a favourite officer. Six feet and a half in height, with a Herculean form in perfect proportions, a voice like Stentor and strength of Ajax; ever unequalled in athletic exercises, and unsubdued in single combat, whole bodies of men had been overcome by him, and he seemed totally unconscious that he was not equally unconquerable at the cannon's mouth. His mind and character were of the same grand and energetic cast with his person; and though deficient in the advantages of finished education, he had been a member of the state legislature, and his mercantile concerns were extensive.

These troops were followed by another regiment from New Hampshire, which arrived on the fifteenth of June, under Colonel Reed, Lieutenant Colonel Gilman and Major Hale.

Connecticut, essentially and undeviatingly republican, was behind none of the provinces in her determined hostility to the usurpation and encroachments of the throne. To her antipathy to royalty the proscribed judges of Charles the first had owed their inviolable asylum in her territory. Religious as well as civil liberty was in jeopardy, and the former with her was paramount to all earthly considerations. In her vocabulary the British troops were the Philistines, and Putnam, the American Samson, a chosen instrument to defeat the foe; and fortunately she inspired her own confidence into all her sister states.

With their usual sagacity however these troops, notwithstanding a confident reliance on supernatural aid, did not neglect all human means to secure it. Their state government, constitution, and establishments continued unchanged. Their troops were better armed, better disciplined and provisioned than any troops in the New England army.

On the first news of the battle of Lexington, Putnam mounted his horse, rode in a single day one hundred miles, arrived at Cambridge, and attended a council of war on the 21st of April, when the parole was Putnam.* His troops soon followed him. Storrs

* Orderly Book.

was lieutenant colonel, and Durkee, who had served with him through the whole war of 1756, with distinguished reputation, was major of his regiment. Brigadier General Spencer, Lieutenant Colonel Willis and Major Mayo, Colonel Waterbury and Colonel Parsons came also with the Connecticut troops, in all about three thousand. Captain Coit next to M'Clary in stature and intrepidity commanded an independent company of hardy New London tars, and Chester another independent company from Weathersfield, the elite corps of the army. As such it was selected to escort General Putnam and Joseph Warren, the President of Congress, to Charlestown, on the exchange of prisoners with the British.

The scene of their meeting was hallowed by the flag of truce which waved over it,* and was sacred to the rites of hospitality and friendship. The officers on both sides were personal friends, though arrayed against each other in public hostility. Between Putnam and the British officers, especially, these ties had been cemented by the mutual perils and intimate associations of the camp, during the long war of 1756, and their present opposition served only to make their affection glow with a more genial warmth. These rugged sons of Mars, from the impulse of feeling, rushed

* Newspapers and oral testimony.

into each others arms. Bravery proved its natural alliance with the finest feelings of the human heart. The fell spirit of civil war was softened.

The whole army was under the command of Artemas Ward, commissioned by the Provincial Congress, on the 21st of May, general and commander in chief of the Massachusetts forces. His general orders were copied and obeyed by the forces of all the other provinces in Massachusetts, indiscriminately, and the officers of all of them were ordered on courts martial, and detailed for the usual routine of duty without any distinction whatever.* Congress also resolved, on the 23d of May, that a lieutenant general, two major generals, four brigadier generals, two adjutant and two quarter master generals should be appointed.

General Ward was a gentleman of liberal education, vigorous understanding and distinguished probity. He had been a member of the council, speaker of the assembly, and chief justice of one of the courts in Massachusetts. He professed the rigid tenets of New England religion, and his rank and character commanded an extensive influence in the country. He had also served with reputa-

* Orderly Books.

tion in the war of 1756, was a lieutenant colonel at the storming of Ticonderoga, under General Abercrombie, and soon after commanded the regiment. He had also been a colonel in the militia, an office from which Governor Hutchinson relieved him on account of his being too true a patriot.

General Thomas received the appointment of lieutenant general which he accepted on the 27th of May. His superior talents, cultivated by a liberal education, his gallantry, activity and vigilance as a soldier, purity as a patriot, and honor as a man commanded the entire confidence of all who knew him. He had served in the former war with reputation, and had already distinguished himself in this. Being in command at Roxbury with a feeble force, General Gage had determined to drive him from that important post. But his vigilance detected the design, and by *a ruse de guerre* he defeated it.

On the day fixed for the attack, all his troops were paraded, marching them round the hill on which he was encamped, in view of Boston, and returning those in front by a short rout again to the rear, they wore the appearance of a long column of troops. Being without uniform the deception was perfect, and General Gage, alarmed with the show of force, relinquished the enterprise.

The veteran General Pomeroy of Northampton continued with the new levied troops under his old commission, not having yet received a new appointment, and assisted in organizing the army. He was a hardy, intrepid, adventurous soldier, a keen and celebrated hunter, an honest, open hearted man. He had acquired a distinguished reputation in the war of 1756, when military fame was the reward of individual prowess and private enterprise, and left the service a laurelled captain of Provincials. He commanded a company under Sir William Johnson in the celebrated engagement when the French and Indians, under the Baron Dieskau, were defeated. To our captain the honor of having slain the baron was awarded over rival claims, and the baron's watch was bestowed on him as a trophy to be transmitted with his fame to posterity.* He was in fact the natural military chieftain of his neighbourhood, and may well be styled the Putnam of Connecticut River.

General Whitcomb bore a close resemblance in his history and character to General Pomeroy. He appeared with the militia at Lexington battle, but was too advanced in years for active service. He received the ap-

* It is yet retained in his family.

pointment of major general in the new army on the 12th of June.

On the 14th of June, Joseph Warren was elected a major general of Massachusetts. In his character the heroism of antiquity combined with the romantic chivalry of the middle ages. An accomplished scholar: gifted with genius the most distinguished, his mind was stored with the treasures of classic erudition. As an orator a model; elegant and impressive, ardent and irresistible; twice selected to address his fellow citizens, the thunder of his eloquence severed the adamantine chain by which nature bound them to the mother country. As a patriot, pure and without reproach, his favorite maxim was "Decus et decorum est pro patria mori," and from presentiment he foresaw that this motto would one day be recorded in the life's blood of a heart as noble as ever panted after immortality. A physician the most eminent, his superb character soared far beyond the narrow limits of his profession. In person handsome, in manners elegant and accomplished, he was the favorite of the drawing room, and qualified to shine in the highest circles of fashion. But the cause of liberty, of his country and mankind summoned him to a destiny by far more exalted. Chairman of the Committee of Safety, and President of the Provincial Congress, he remembered that in the

simplicity of ancient republics, legislators the most distinguished were also warriors the most devoted. He accompanied General Putnam as a volunteer to one of the islands, where in a warm engagement the enemy were defeated and a vessel destroyed; and his head had been grazed by a ball from the enemy at the battle of Lexington.

General Ward's quarters were at Cambridge, with about eight thousand Massachusetts troops, and one thousand from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent's Massachusetts regiment, were under the immediate command of General Putnam, in a central and advanced position near Inman's farm, where the enemy landed previous to the battle of Lexington. Here some slight breastworks were thrown up. Another slight work was erected near the Charlestown road, a mile and a half from Cambridge, where Colonel Patterson's regiment was stationed.

Four companies of artillery with, and one without field pieces, were also at Cambridge.

At Roxbury, Lieutenant General Thomas commanded about two thousand Massachusetts, two thousand Connecticut and one thousand Rhode Island troops, including an artillery company with field pieces. These composed the right wing of the army.

At Medford about one thousand New Hampshire troops under Colonels Stark and Reed, formed the left wing of the army.

These troops were hardy, brave, active, athletic and indefatigable. Almost every soldier equalled William Tell as a marksman, and would aim his weapon at an oppressor with as keen a relish. Those from the frontier had gained this address against the savages and beasts of the forest. The country yet abounded with game, and hunting was familiar to all; and the amusement the most fashionable and universal throughout New England, was trials of skill with the musket.

These troops were also religious, and their respect for the opinions of the clergy was unbounded. But the religion of their clergy was republican in its nature; they had the most lively antipathy to church establishments, and dread of royal oppression. To avoid the expense of chaplains to the army, the clergy in the neighbourhood of the camp were invited by Congress to perform divine service, thirteen of them, every Sabbath; a duty they discharged with zeal and punctuality.

The confidence of the army in their officers was as complete, as it appears from the characters of those described to have been richly merited. But beside these superior officers,

many of the field and commissioned officers and privates had served in the army in the war of 1745 or of 1756, and had there reaped well deserved laurels.

Their confidence was at present elevated to an excess by the recent and astonishing conquests which their arms had accomplished. Beside the victory at Lexington, and successful skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Boston, they had just learned, that Arnold, who had received a colonel's commission and troops from the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, had, in alliance with other New England forces, achieved the important acquisition of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. These troops were also sensible that they were fighting in their own cause, and were exalted into heroes by a glorious, enthusiastic love of liberty, a maddening, indignant sense of oppression. This indignation burned with new fury from a recent proclamation of Governor Gage, denouncing them all as rebels, and especially the proscribed patriots, Hancock and Adams, their abettors, adherents and associates.

Excepting these characteristics, however, they were deficient in almost every important requisite of an army. They were wretchedly defective in arms, and the bayonet was almost universally wanting. They were entirely strangers to discipline and almost to subordi-

nation. They were nominally organized into regiments, but these were deficient in numbers, many of them only skeletons, and their respective ranks were not ascertained. Some of these troops were yet serving as minute men, and a number of regiments had not received their commissions. Tents were not provided. The commissariat and quartermaster's department and staff were yet unorganized. The several towns sent provisions to their troops with profusion, but with irregularity and waste.

Colonel Gridley was appointed chief, and William Burbeck second engineer, but the latter was attached to the ordnance department, and Colonel Gridley had no engineers under him. It was impossible for him to supply this defect, and he was himself almost too advanced in years for service. But if military science, skill and experience could have overcome these difficulties, there was not an officer in America more capable of accomplishing it than Colonel Gridley.

Richard Gridley, brother of J. Gridley, in his day "the giant of the law," was born in Boston, 1711. Uncommon genius, improved by superior education, prepared him for an elevated standing. Most apt and learned in every branch of mathematics, of romantic honor, chivalrous ambition, and adventurous

bravery, nature made him a soldier; and it was found impossible for art to make him a merchant. The attempt was relinquished, and, like the two principal heroes of the American revolution, Washington and Greene, he employed himself as a practical surveyor and civil engineer.

After the decease of his brother who held the office he was elected Grand Master of the fraternity of Masons.

Military science he studied with enthusiasm and acquired with facility, and in 1745 he commenced his military career.

Massachusetts raised an army of three thousand two hundred men, New Hampshire added three and Connecticut five hundred, to conquer the Island of Cape Breton. In this army he received the appointment of engineer and commander of the artillery. Under the instruction of Bastide, a most distinguished engineer, he became at once an adept in his profession, and acquired like Archimedes distinguished celebrity in the war of sieges. With scientific accuracy he pointed the mortar which on the third fire threw a bomb into the citadel, one grand cause of the subsequent surrender of Louisbourg and conquest of Cape Breton.

He was rewarded by a captaincy in Governor Shirley's American regiment on the British establishment. The peace left him on half pay, and in 1752 he attended the governor to the Kennebeck, and erected forts Western and Halifax.

In 1755 he again entered the service as chief engineer and colonel of infantry. In 1756 he was commander of the provincial artillery under General Winslow in the expedition against Crown Point, and proceeded to Lake George, where he erected fortifications. In 1757 he sailed for Halifax intended for Louisbourg, but the expedition was arrested by the French fleet. In 1758 he revisited his earliest field of glory, and was at the second taking of Louisbourg under General Amherst. He had the superintendance of the ordnance stores, and was so distinguished in the siege, as were all the New England troops, that the general tendered him the whole valuable furniture of the governor's house, a present which he with chivalrous delicacy declined.

In 1759 General Amherst conferred on him the distinguished honor of commanding the artillery under the immortal Wolfe at the siege of Quebec.

General Amherst found it impossible to join the expedition against Quebec as he intended; notwithstanding which the audacious commander, seconded by the heroic Gridley and his other officers, determined to achieve the conquest alone. He landed his army in the night under the heights of Abraham, mounted the precipice, and won the glorious battle, in which Gridley proved himself worthy to fight by his side.

His country acknowledged his services and rewarded them. The Magdalen islands with an extensive seal and cod fishery, and half pay as a British officer, were conferred on him.

At the commencement of the American revolution his British agent, by order of government, enquired to what party he devoted his services. His magnanimous answer was, "he "never drew his sword but in the cause of jus- "tice, and such he considered to be his coun- "try's." His half pay ceased, and the arrears already due he had too much spirit to receive.

The British army in Boston, at the time of Lexington battle, were about four thousand troops under General Gage, the governor of Massachusetts. He had served with eclat both in America and Europe, had married an American lady, was popular in the country, and disposed to moderate expedients, until he

sacrificed his own judgment to the advice of violent partizans.

By the last of May large reinforcements arrived, and the whole consisted of the following regiments; the fourth, fifth, tenth, fourteenth, three companies of the eighteenth, twenty third, thirty fifth, thirty eighth, forty third, forty seventh, fifty second, fifty ninth, sixty third, two companies of the sixty fifth, and the sixty seventh. These amounted to about ten thousand troops under Generals Gage, Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant and Robinson, Lords Percy and Rawdon, Colonels Abercrombie, Williams and others, the most distinguished officers and choicest troops of the British empire.

The fifty second, the royal Irish and the twenty third or Welsh fusileers, had been the most signalized. This last was the Prince of Wales regiment in elegant uniform with a strong national spirit and esprit de corps.* There was also a squadron of cavalry, for whose use a house of God was unwisely and sacrilegiously assumed.

* From a tradition that a former Prince of Wales had ridden from his principality into England on a goat; a very large one, with gilded horns, was always maintained by the corps, and they celebrated the anniversary of the feat by a procession, rejoicing and exultation.

The light infantry of the regiments were encamped on the heights of West Boston, facing Cambridge; a very strong battery for cannon and mortars was erected on Copps Hill, facing Charlestown, and very strong lines and batteries were formed across the neck on the side of Roxbury.

The British were equally sanguine, and as confident of success as their enemy, for whom, as soldiers, they entertained a sovereign contempt. This opinion was nourished by their officers who had served with those of the Provincials, when they were degraded below the British officers of similar commissions, and the generals were allowed no rank with those of the mother country. They were confirmed in the same opinion from the ordinary arms and the uncouth dress of the American troops, which they had worn unchanged from the plough or the workshop, and the want of discipline and subordination which signalized their camp.

They were also enthusiastic admirers of their government and constitution. They held the king and parliament in religious veneration, and considered them as omnipotent on earth as Deity in heaven. They looked upon the Americans as foul, ungrateful and unnatural rebels, and burned with indignation to inflict on them exemplary punishment.

Their narrow quarters galled their pride; Burgoyne declared they would have elbow room, and General Gage proclaimed his mortification "that the Americans affected to hold the British army besieged." Notwithstanding the superior and increasing numbers of the foe, they determined to leave the town, and take Charlestown and Dorchester heights. The busy preparation had commenced to possess themselves of the latter on the eighteenth day of June, but the Americans before that provided other occupation for their arms.

The Americans were impatient to be led against the enemy. They were unable to appreciate the necessity of discipline, or to understand the unorganized situation of every department of the army; but the hardships and expense of service they sorely realized. Many of the officers were favourable to the wishes of the men. They had been used to the loose service of rangers, and could not weigh the requisitions of a regular army.

General Putnam, Colonel Prescott, and other veterans, demanded that advantage should be taken of this disposition of the men, and their wishes gratified. The utility of the frequent and successful skirmises they had already engaged in was immense. They promised themselves still higher advantage from an affair more important, but short of a general

engagement. They knew that, could the enemy be induced to engage a formidable detachment, their inferiority with the musket would make them deeply rue any advantage they might gain, while it would convert our army into soldiers; and these beneficial results would be doubled, could the Americans be covered by entrenchments. Putnam, to show his correct estimation of his countrymen, as raw troops, advanced his favorite maxim, "the Americans are not at all afraid of their "heads, though very much afraid of their "legs; if you cover these they will fight for-"ever." Before the Council of War, in continual session, these arguments were under consideration.

The same momentous question had been debated in the Committee of Safety. They received information, from their secret emissaries, that the enemy intended to advance into the country, and possess themselves of the very commanding heights of Charlestown and Dorchester. The necessity of anticipating them in a project so fatal to America was most solemnly urged for the purpose of preventing their advance into the country, destroying their shipping, and making the town itself too hot for them.

But this course was opposed by formidable, and almost insuperable difficulties. The ar-

my seemed called on to maintain a rigid defence till they were better disciplined and prepared for battle; and what was of vastly more weight, they had not gunpowder. There were eleven barrels only in the public depots, and but sixty seven in Massachusetts. These heights completely overlooked the town, and it was impossible for the enemy to suffer the Americans to keep them without the most desperate efforts, and a general engagement. This and the cannonade we should be necessitated to support, to answer that of the enemy, (for if omitted it would betray our secret impotency as to powder) were entirely beyond our means. General Pomeroy, however, took council of his courage, and with unbounded confidence in the skill of his countrymen "would fight the enemy with but five "cartridges a piece. He himself was practised "in hunting, and always brought home two, "and sometimes three deer, with but three "charges of powder. But the men had gen- "erally supplied themselves with powder as "militia, and the public could easily make good "the deficiency."

General Putnam, to encourage discipline and emulation, and brave the enemy, marched in face of them with all the troops from Cambridge to Charlestown, about the 10th day of June. And about the same time, to support the policy of engaging the enemy in an affair,

he attentively reconnoitred the country with other officers. A position perfectly suited to their purpose, and which does immortal honor to their coup d'œil and military skill, they found in the fields of Charlestown. They repaired to the place, and with minute accuracy examined the position.

By the direction of General Ward, Colonel Gridley and Colonel Henshaw, accompanied by Mr. Devens, one of the Committee of Safety from Charlestown, had examined this part of the country in May, and reported in favor of fortifying Prospect Hill first, Bunker Hill next, and lastly Breed's Hill.

The settlement of Charlestown and the fields are situated on a peninsula, with Charles River on the south, and Mystic River on the north. It is eleven hundred yards across from north to south, and one mile forty three rods in length from east to west, at which extremity the two rivers approach each other, and form a neck of land but one hundred and thirty yards over. Breed's Hill is long, the eastern end rather steep, the western sinking gradually; the south side is very steep, and at the bottom of it was Charlestown. It is sixty two feet in height. The north is likewise steep, and was protected at the bottom by a deep impassable slough; beyond this, proceeding north, you cross a tongue of land

twenty feet in height above Mystic River, the shore of which terminates it on the north side. This tongue of land runs east to within two hundred and fifty yards of Morton's Hill and parallel with Breed's Hill. Morton's Hill lies northeast from Breed's, and is thirty five feet in height. The ground between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, and beyond the eastern end of it and Morton's Hill was low and marshy. On the driest parts of this low land, however, were a number of brick kilns. The tongue of land at its western extremity terminates in Bunker Hill, which on this side has a considerable slope, and on all its other sides is exceedingly steep. It is one hundred and ten feet high, bears northwest from Breed's, and the summits of the two are distant from each other one hundred and thirty rods. By Bunker Hill Breed's is completely commanded. A narrow road ran from the neck over Bunker Hill, between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, and entirely round Breed's Hill, approaching very near its summit on the south.

Even the daring enterprise of Warren hesitated at the accumulated dangers and difficulties, apparently insurmountable, which opposed our taking and maintaining possession of the heights of Charlestown. But the Council of War and Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman, and in which he opposed the measure, adopted a different opinion. Like a

genuine patriot, his own opinion was forgotten, and he joined heart and hand with his brethren to command success.

On the fifteenth of June, the Committee of Safety passed the following votes:

"Whereas this Committee lately applied to "the Honourable the Congress of this colony, "for an augmentation of the army now in the "vicinity of Boston, and as some circumstan- "ces have since taken place, which strength- "ened the arguments then used in favor of the "said augmentation; particularly that many "of the then expected reinforcements for Gen- "eral Gage's army are arrived; that General "Gage has issued a very extraordinary pro- "clamation, in which the inhabitants of Mas- "sachusetts are, in the most explicit manner, "declared rebels; and various accounts have "been brought to this Committee of the move- "ment of General Gage's army, and that he "intends soon to make another attempt to "penetrate into the country: From the con- "sideration of all which premises, together "with that of our army, Resolved, that the "good and welfare of the colony requires that "there be an immediate augmentation of said "army, that such soldiers in the army as be "destitute of arms be immediately supplied "therewith, that such regiments of militia as "be destitute of officers be immediately filled

"up, in such manner as the Honourable Con-
"gress may direct; and that all the militia in
"the colony be ordered to hold themselves in
"readiness to march, on the shortest notice,
"completely equipped, having thirty rounds of
"cartridges per man; all which is earnestly
"recommended to the immediate consideration
"of the Honourable Congress, now sitting in
"Watertown. To which the Committee would
"beg leave to add a general recommendation
"to the people, to go to meeting armed on the
"Lord's day, in order to prevent being thrown
"into confusion."

On the same day they passed the following vote, which, for secrecy, was not recorded untill the 19th of June:

"Whereas it appears of importance to the
"safety of this colony that possession of the
"hill called Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, be
"securely kept and defended, and also some
"one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be like-
"wise secured, therefore resolved unanimous-
"ly, that it be recommended to the Council of
"War that the above mentioned Bunker Hill
"be maintained by sufficient force being post-
"ed there; and as the particular situation of
"Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Com-
"mittee, they advise that the Council of War
"take and pursue such steps respecting the
"same, as to them shall appear to be for the

"security of this colony." On the same day it was ordered, "that Captain Benjamin "White and Colonel Joseph Palmer be a "committee to join with the committee from "the Council of War, to proceed to the Rox-"bury camp, there to consult with the general "officers on matters of importance, and to "communicate to them a resolve this day "passed, in this Committee, respecting Bun-"ker Hill in Charlestown, and Dorchester "Neck." The Provincial Congress prepared an eloquent and energetic answer to Governor Gage's proclamation, to be issued on the 16th of June, in which Governor Gage and Admiral Graves are excepted from the general amnesty, to respond to the proscription of Hancock and Adams; but this paper contest was forgotten in the bloody battle which ensued.

THE BATTLE.

On the 16th of June, 1775, the approaching dog star shed its influence over the American camp. The earth was parched up; but the patriotism of the soldiers was more powerful than the sun, and their well strung nerves were proof against its enervating influence.

With the advice of the Council of War, General Ward issued orders to Colonel William Prescott, to the commander of Colonel Frye's regiment, and Colonel Bridge, to be prepared for an expedition, with all their men fit for service, and one day's provisions. The same order issued for one hundred and twenty of General Putnam's regiment, and one company of artillery with two field pieces.

With these troops Colonel Prescott was ordered to proceed to Charlestown in the evening, take possession of Bunker Hill, and erect the requisite fortifications to defend it. His

orders were to be kept profoundly secret. and provisions and refreshments were to be sent in the morning, with as many more troops as should be necessary to reinforce him.

Not an officer in the army could have been selected more worthy the honor, or more adequate to the arduous undertaking than Colonel Prescott. In this veteran, age already began to display its ravages: but the fire of his youth was undamped. He was of Pepperell, and was early left in affluence by the decease of his father. He soon received a commission in the provincial army, and, with many of his neighbourhood who enlisted, he joined the forces under General Winslow, and assisted in the conquest of Nova Scotia. His military talents attracted instant admiration, and he was urged by the British officers to accept a commission in the royal army. Attachment to his brave soldiers and countrymen, however, did not permit him to separate himself from them, and he returned to his estate. The soldiers who had served under him still considered him their head. Like the chief of some feudal clan, he received them all with open doors at his hospitable mansion. In the habits he had acquired in camps his property was expended for their relief, comfort or entertainment, as freely as they were ready on every occasion to shed their blood for his honor, and under his command.

His figure was tall and commanding, and his countenance grave, ardent and impressive as his character. With this presence, and his long and formidable sword, he needed no uniform to distinguish him as a leader. In a simple calico frock he headed the detachment of about one thousand men, who left camp at dark, and proceeded to Charlestown. Colonel Prescott led the way with two sergeants, having dark lanterns open only to the rear, about six paces in front of the troops.

General Putnam having the general superintendance of the expedition, and the chief engineer, Colonel Gridley, accompanied the troops.

Profound mystery hung over the object of the expedition till they crossed Charlestown Neck and found the waggons loaded with intrenching tools.

The officers were hastening to order the arms to be stacked, and fortifications commenced, when a most serious confusion arose as to the construction of their orders, and the point to be fortified. None of the hills except Bunker had yet been distinguished by name. And though this was the most commanding and most defensible position, it was too far from the enemy to annoy their army and shipping. This hill seemed specified

only by mistake, and Breed's Hill was far better adapted to the important objects of the expedition, and better suited the adventurous spirit of the commanding officers. Their most invaluable moments were wasted without coming to a conclusion, though the wary and scientific engineer again and again urged them to determine at once on the ground, or it would be impossible to complete the requisite fortifications.

Breed's Hill was at length concluded on, and Colonel Gridley immediately laid out the works upon it with a genius and skill which would have honored any engineer in the highest advance of military science. The redoubt on the summit of the hill was about eight rods square. The strongest side, on front, in the form of a redan, faced Charlestown, and protected the south side of the hill. The eastern side commanded a very extensive field, and in a line with this, running north down the side of the hill to the impassable slough, was formed a breastwork, which, at the southern extremity, was separated from the redoubt by a narrow passage way or sally port, protected in front by a blind. In the rear of the redoubt was a passage or gate way opening toward the slough.

The works marked out, tools were distributed to the men; but midnight arrived before

the first spade entered the ground. These brawny yeomen were literally, however, working for their lives as well as their liberties, and performed prodigies of labour. They were instructed and stimulated by General Putnam, Colonel Prescott, and other officers, among whom was Major Brooks, distinguished by the well deserved confidence of the army. Just entered on manhood he relinquished a lucrative profession at the call of his country. Commanding a battalion of minute men, he commenced his military career at the battle of Lexington and received the same rank in the army. He was imperatively called home, by dangerous sickness in his family, and received no order to march with his regiment. But the danger of his fellow soldiers was a sufficient summons, and he hastened to join his corps, which he overtook at the neck.

There was an unobscured starlight, and the movements of the neighbouring enemy demanded observation. Colonel Prescott proceeded with Major Brooks to the shore to reconnoitre them. Every thing was quiet; they distinctly heard the enemy relieving guard, and were rejoiced at the welcome cry from the centries, however unfounded, "All's well!"

The men quietly at their labours, General Putnam in the morning repaired to his camp,

to prepare for the anticipated crisis, and to be mounted afresh, for his gait over horseneck was not more expeditious than his ordinary riding, and his horse required to be relieved.

Watchful as Argus, Prescott could hardly conjecture that the enemy were so negligent of military caution, as to suffer his powerful force to approach their very threshold unobserved. He advanced anew to examine their situation; again all was quiet.

But the blazing sun began his approaches, and the grey of the morning was dissipated. The veil was lifted from the astonished eyes of the British; but they would hardly credit their senses on perceiving their daring enemy above them, overlooking their whole position, with formidable entrenchments. which had sprung up as by enchantment. The cannon of the Lively opened on the Americans and roused their countrymen from secure repose, to participate in the same surprise and astonishment.

General Gage was thunderstruck at the unwelcome information, and sent an immediate summons to his officers to meet him in a council of war.

Some other frigates, floating batteries, the Somerset line of battle ship, a formidable

battery of the heaviest pieces, and a mortar on Copps Hill, opened a tremendous fire on the Americans, sufficient to appal even veteran troops.

This fire was some time without effect, but the men venturing in front of the works, one of them was killed by a cannon shot. A subaltern officer acquainted Colonel Prescott, and asked what should be done. "Bury "him." "What," said the green astonished officer, "without prayers!" A chaplain, who was present, insisted on performing service over this first victim, and collected many of the soldiers around him, heedless of peril. Prescott ordered them to disperse; but religious enthusiasm prevailed, and the chaplain again collected his congregation in the midst of the enemy's fire, when the deceased was ordered to be taken and buried in the ditch.

To dispel the terror which this event excited, Prescott mounted on the works, and directed the labor. Heedless of all the fire of the enemy, he was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and transferred his own exaltation into every private under him. From oppressive heat, and the vehemence of his address, his false hair was thrown off, and waving his sword, he sometimes upbraided his men in anger, and sometimes encouraged them with approbation, or

amused them with humour. Perfectly understanding his countrymen, he was complete master of their souls. Not the great Suwarrow himself was ever more negligent of appearance, or ever inspired his faithful followers with a confidence more entire or more deserved.

General Gage was reconnoitring the enemy. He handed the telescope to Willard, a mandamus counsellor, and inquired, "who is "that officer commanding?" He instantly recognized *his brother-in-law, Colonel Prescott.* "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Yes, sir, "depend upon it, to the last drop of blood in "him, but I cannot answer for his men," was the reply.

The sufferings of the men were great; the heat was excessive; during a sleepless night they had unremittedly labored, without even water, and their small stock of provisions was exhausted. Their officers felt for them, and wished Colonel Prescott to send to Cambridge a request to be relieved. He called a council, but instantly crushed the slighest hope of a relief. "The enemy would not dare attack "them, and if they did would be defeated. "The men who had raised the works were "the best qualified to defend them. They "had already learned to despise the fire of

"the enemy They had the merit of the la-
"bor, and should enjoy the honor of the vic-
"tory." With renewed ardor the men continued their labors.

Captain Nutting with his company, and Captain Walker with a small detachment,* were ordered into Charlestown, near the ferry, by Colonel Prescott, to observe the enemy's movements.

General Gage met his officers in council. They did not hesitate as to the indispensable necessity of driving the enemy from their formidable position, but found it impossible to agree on the mode of attack. General Clinton and General Grant† advocated attacking the enemy in rear. "Their men could "embark at the bottom of the common in "boats, land at Charlestown Neck, under "protection of a fire from the floating batte-"ries and frigates, and would have the enemy "in their power;" and this appeared to be the prevailing opinion. But General Gage would not adopt a measure so adventurous. It was opposed to every well founded military

* This doubtless gave rise to Gordon's statement, that two regiments were in Charlestown.

† Declaration of General Grant in presence of Mr. Cotton, now living.

rule, and was in fact contrary to the dictates of prudence. They would expose themselves between two armies, one of them superior to their own in numbers, and the other strongly posted and fortified; they would be attacked in front and rear, and in fact completely surrounded, without the possibility of a retreat being secured to them in case of disaster. It was therefore determined to land and attack the enemy in front.

At daybreak General Putnam ordered Lieutenant Clark to send and request of General Ward a horse for him to ride to Bunker Hill. The lieutenant went himself, but the general's impatience could not await an answer. On his return he found him mounted and departing.

The result of General Gage's council of war soon became apparent. The enemy were observed moving with rapidity through the streets of Boston; a corps of dragoons manœuvring within view of the Americans suddenly galloped off the ground; the rattling of artillery carriages and waggons was heard, and every note of preparation for a military movement. Prescott then believed the enemy would hazard an attack and was in ecstasy. "Now, my boys, we shall have a fight, and "shall beat them too," he observed. Fearless,

himself he thought the world so too, and his confidence was too implicit in the raw troops and inexperienced commanders collecting, for as an army they can hardly be said to have collected, at Cambridge. It was nine o'clock; provisions and drink had been requested from General Ward, but none had arrived, nor any troops to replace those at the entrenchments. Colonel Prescott called another council of war; again he refused to hear a word as to displacing his men, but consented to send to General Ward for refreshments and reinforcements.

Major Brooks was selected to proceed to Cambridge and wait on General Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition he was directed to take one of the artillery horses, but the order was vehemently opposed by Captain Gridley, who feared for the safety of his pieces if a single horse was taken from him. Prescott then directed him to proceed on foot with as much despatch as possible. He arrived at head quarters about ten, and delivered his instructions to General Ward. The general hesitated as to the policy of sending reinforcements to Charlestown, and doubted whether the real intention of the enemy was to make his attack on that point. At Cambridge and Watertown were the scanty depots of ammunition, ordnance stores and materiel

of every species belonging to the army. On these the salvation of the country seemed to depend, and he presumed the enemy intended to seize the present opportunity, to make an attack on head quarters, and gain possession of the depots.

The Committee of Safety was then in session in the very house in which the general quartered, and to them he communicated the information and request, brought by Major Brooks. Richard Devens, one of the members, was of Charlestown. His anxiety that his estate and native town should be protected from the inroad of the enemy, amounted almost to phrenzy; his importunity with the general and the committee to have ample reinforcements sent to Colonel Prescott was equally vehement and impassioned. The committee recommended sending reinforcements, and the general consented that orders should go to the New Hampshire troops, stationed at Medford, to proceed to Charlestown and reinforce Colonel Prescott, and these orders were immediately sent to Colonel Stark and Colonel Reed.

General Warren, the Chairman of the Committee of Safety was present. The day before he had officiated as President of the Congress at Watertown, and had passed the night

there, engaged in the accumulated concerns of the public. His friend, Honorable Elbridge Gerry, had learned the determination to take and fortify Bunker Hill. He remonstrated with him against the glaring imprudence of the measure, with our defective means. "We "had not powder to maintain the desperate "conflict which must ensue, and should all be "cut to pieces." General Warren confessed he entertained the same opinion; but it was determined otherwise, and he was resolved to share the fate of his countrymen. His friend conjured him not to expose his invaluable life where his destruction would be useless and inevitable. "I know it," said the hero, "but I "live within sound of the cannon, and should "die were I to remain at home while my fel- "low citizens are shedding their blood for me "and my country." He arrived at Cambridge by daylight, complained of headache and threw himself on the bed. On receiving information that the enemy were coming out, General Ward sent to notify him. He jumped from his bed, declared "his headache was gone "then," and after meeting with the Committee of Safety, mounted his horse, and with his fusil and sword repaired to the post of danger. He joined General Putnam, and they consulted on measures to be pursued. General Putnam informed him that "from long experience "he perfectly comprehended the character of "the British army; they would ultimately suc-

"ceed and drive us from the works, but from "the mode of attack they had chosen, it was "in our power to do them infinite mischief, "though we must be prepared for a brave and "orderly retreat, when we could maintain our "ground no longer." Warren expressed his full assent to these opinions and agreed to be governed by them.

At eleven the New Hampshire troops received orders from Cambridge. About fifteen charges of loose powder and balls were distributed to each, and they were directed to form these into cartridges immediately. Few of the men, however, possessed cartridge boxes, but employed only powder horns; and scarcely two of their guns agreeing in calibre, they were obliged to alter the balls accordingly.

At the long wharf, in Boston, four battalions of British infantry, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, were embarked in boats. Some of these were taken from transports, and had never disembarked since their voyage. They were now to land, not like Antæus, to gain new strength from the earth, but to shed their life's blood on her bosom.

About one o'clock a large portion of these troops, together with six pieces of cannon and

howitzers, landed at Morton's Point. Here they immediately discovered a most disastrous mistake; the cartridges sent for the use of the artillery were too large for the pieces. They were immediately sent back, and a new supply obtained. At the same time General Howe, the commander of the forces, discovering on his near approach the formidable nature of the enemy's position, requested reinforcements from General Gage. About two o'clock the remainder of the forces leave Winnisimit Ferry and land at Morton's Point; and soon after the reinforcements, the forty seventh battalion, a battalion of marines, except a few of this corps who were preparing to embark, a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, land under the eastern end of Breed's Hill, at Madlin's shipyard. All these troops cannot be estimated at less than five thousand; if the corps were but half full there were four thousand three hundred and fifty. While the enemy were landing General Putnam ordered Captain Knowlton, with the Connecticut troops, to take post behind a rail fence, which ran across the tongue of land, from the road to Mystic River, a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. In front of this whole line of fence was a thick orchard, and another, more spare, in the rear. These troops pulled up the neighbouring fences, and placing them near the one at which they were posted, threw in the new mown grass between.

Few of the fields, however, were mown, and this cover was a mere shadow of a defence.

This fence was one hundred and ninety yards in rear of the breastwork, and eighty yards in rear of the head or western end of the slough, leaving a very extensive opening between the breastwork and rail fence, by which the left flank of the breastwork, and troops resting on the slough, were entirely exposed to cannon shot; and a considerable space, one hundred yards diagonally, between the slough and the rail fence, was open to the advance of infantry. This was the weak point and the very key of the American position.

The detachments in Charlestown were now recalled by Colonel Prescott, and took post at a narrow cart way, which ran from the southeastern angle of the redoubt, directly south, to the narrow way round the hill. They placed the fences together, and threw in grass, as was done on the left.

The thundering cannonade of the enemy soon spread the information of an approaching engagement. The American citizens in the neighbourhood flocked to the scene, and the soldiers voluntarily ran to arms, and entreated to be led against the foe. Colonel Little's regiment had just arrived from Essex and

were not even commissioned. Awaiting no orders, they left their quarters in West Cambridge, marched to General Ward and tendered their services.

The Connecticut troops were equally anxious to join their general; they were all under arms, and sent to head quarters for orders. But General Ward informed them they had already the post of honor, for the British were expected to land at Inman's farm their present position.

For greater caution Colonel Gardner's regiment, and one or two others, were marched half way to Charlestown there to wait further orders. But the enemy's intentions were now clearly pronounced, by their preparation to land at Charlestown. Orders were in haste despatched to a number of infantry regiments —Captain Callender's company and Major Gridley's battalion of artillery, to proceed instantly to Charlestown to reinforce their countrymen.

Colonel Prescott had stretched the endurance and exertions of his detachment to the utmost of the human constitution. They had thrown up a defence good against muskets, and most of it against artillery. But the commanding summit of Bunker Hill, of vital importance to them in case of retreat, was not yet

fortified. Putnam was anxious and mortified that a post, on which his defence and reputation so materially depended, should be entirely neglected. His mother wit, cultivated in the school of experience, under British officers, the most distinguished masters of the day, perfectly comprehended the immense importance of entrenching. He seemed to have intuitively seized the maxims of Cæsar's learned campaigns, as well as to anticipate the scientific results of such modern defences as General Jackson's. He ordered the entrenching tools to be carried by a large detachment to the rear.

The first division of the enemy awaiting the remainder of the detachment, which had not yet embarked, were quietly dining, and most of them for the last time, from their crowded and cumbrous knapsacks.

General Putnam seized the opportunity of hastening to Cambridge, whence he returned with the reinforcements. He had to pass a galling enfilading fire of round, bar and chain shot, which thundered across the neck from the Glasgow frigate in the channel of Charles River, and two floating batteries hauled close to the shore.

And now the brave Stark arrived with his regiment. General Putnam reserved a part

of it, to throw up a work on Bunker Hill, and ordered him to press on to the lines as quick as possible, with the remainder. They proceeded with the other New Hampshire regiment under Colonel Reed, and joined the Connecticut troops at the rail fence.

About five thousand British troops, and a new supply of artillery ammunition, had landed. Major General Howe was their commander, a distinguished soldier, and like all his family, of undaunted bravery; under him was General Pigot, and the other renowned chiefs were, Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clarke, Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small, Lords Percy and Rawdon. The troops were in columns, waiting the signal to advance. They and their enemy opposed to them were in a vast amphitheatre, formed by elevated heights which rise from Boston Bay, surrounding them on every other side at the distance only of a few miles. These heights were covered with Americans, who had been brought from a distance, by anxious curiosity, to witness a scene so sublime, and learn the event of a contest, on which the fate of a new world depended; and many of them to witness the fate of a parent, brother or husband engaged. The heights and the steeples in Boston were similarly crowded by the inhabitants and British soldiers. And many a soldier's wife witnessed

the events, with a melancholy foreboding that she was left a widow, and her home three thousand miles across the ocean.

A tremendous cannonade from Boston opened on the camp at Roxbury, to contain the Americans who were there under arms. It added to the continued roar of the batteries and shipping against Charlestown, and the battle was commencing. It was indeed a scene interesting beyond the reach of human imagination.

The field artillery opened on the works; it was the signal to advance. The Americans faintly responded with their two small pieces. They had fired a few useless shot at Copps Hill, but there were no embrasures in the imperfect redoubt; their slight platform was broken, and the artillery cartridges were reserved.

The drums beat to arms. Putnam left his works, commenced on Bunker Hill, and led the troops into action.

Little's regiment arrived; he ordered them to their posts. Captain Warner's company advanced to the rail fence on the right of the redoubt, Captain Perkins' to the exposed position between the breastwork and rail fence on the left, and the remainder found their

places in the line. Colonel Jonathan Brewer, with his regiment, and Captain Callender, with his artillery, also arrived.

The veteran General Pomeroy heard the pealing artillery, which seemed to invite him to battle; he was a soldier too brave, and a patriot too ardent, to resist a summons so agreeable. He requested a horse of General Ward, to carry him to the field; delighted at an aid so important, it was instantly supplied. With his musket and cartridges he repaired to the neck; inquiring of a sentry posted there, and viewing the ground and the tremendous fire across, he was alarmed not for himself, but for the horse he had borrowed; he delivered him to the sentry, and coolly marched across. He advanced to the rail fence at the left. His approach gave new confidence to the men; they received him with the highest exultation, and the name of General Pomeroy rang through the line. In early life he had been an ingenious mechanic, and many a soldier was supplied with arms of his manufacture. Had Vulcan himself supplied the Grecians with his celestial armor, and appeared in their ranks, they would not have been more certain of victory.

General Warren took post at the redoubt. Colonel Prescott offered him the command, but he had not yet received his commission,

and tendered the colonel his assistance as a volunteer; "he was happy to learn service "from a soldier of experience."

The columns of the enemy were advancing slowly, and halted at intervals, to give the artillery an opportunity to render a passage over the works practicable. General Howe, remarkably tall, and a prominent mark, advanced two hundred yards in front of the troops to reconnoitre.

The fifth regiment, one of grenadiers, and another of light infantry, move under cover of the tongue of land, at the foot of it display, and advance in front to the rail fence; except nine of the light companies, who move by the right flank on the shore of Mystic River to turn the American left. This attack was led by General Howe.

The fifty second regiment, thirty eighth, thirty fifth, forty seventh, three grenadier and three light companies, and the marines, under cover of Breed's Hill, display, and are led by General Pigot against the redoubt and breastwork.

The lines advanced and soon opened to view. The American marksmen are with difficulty restrained from firing. General Putnam rode through the line, and ordered that

no one should fire till they arrived within eight rods, nor any one till commanded. "Powder "was scarce and must not be wasted. They "should not fire at the enemy till they saw "the white of their eyes, and then fire low, "take aim at their waistbands. They were "all marksmen, and could kill a squirrel at "a hundred yards; reserve their fire, and the "enemy were all destroyed. Aim at the hand-"some coats, pick off the commanders." The same orders were reiterated by Prescott at the redoubt, by Pomeroy, Stark, and all the veteran officers.

The enemy were within gunshot of the redoubt; a few of the sharp shooters could not resist the temptation and fired. Prescott was indignant at this contempt of his orders; waving his sword he swore instant death against the first who disobeyed again, appealed to their well known confidence in him, and promised to give them orders at the proper moment.

The enemy were at eight rods distance, the deadly muskets were levelled, when Prescott commanded his men to take good aim, be sure of their mark, and fire. He was effectually obeyed. The whole front rank was swept away, and many a gallant officer laid low. They were, however, countrymen of those who gave the fire, and received it with the

same cool courage with which it was given. Rank succeeded rank, and returned the fire, but the odds was fearful; the Americans were well protected by the works; the efforts and courage of the enemy were in vain, and with surly reluctance they were compelled to retreat.

Warren animated and encouraged the men, and with the rest of the officers, set them an example with his musket; there was scarcely an officer of any grade, except Putnam and Prescott, without one.

Perfect as was the fire of the American infantry, their artillery was as grossly defective in every respect. This arm requires science, experience and knowledge of position. But the artillery companies were just selected from the infantry, and entirely ignorant of their duty. Callender carried his pieces into action, but his cartridges required adjusting. Totally in violation of military discipline, he left his post without orders, and was retiring to a secure place under cover of the hill, to prepare for firing. Putnam observed this appearance of retreat and was fired with indignation; he ordered him instantly to his post; Callender remonstrated, but Putnam threatened him with instant death, if he hesitated, and forced him back. His men, however, were disgusted with a part of the service they did not understand,

most of them had muskets and mingled in the fight; the pieces were entirely deserted, and the captain relinquished them.

The British had neglected the only manœuvre which would have defeated the enemy, to mount the works and charge with the bayonet. The Americans had scarcely a bayonet to a company, and it must have succeeded. Under cover of the hill they prepared for another onset.

Their fellow soldiers on the right arrived about the time of this attack on the redoubt to within about one hundred yards of the Americans. They were throwing down a fence, when a few marksmen fired on them. Putnam was enraged at this disobedience of an order on which the salvation of the army depended; he rode to the spot, his sword whistling through the air; in his indignation he threatened to cut down the first who dared to fire again without orders. The discharge from these few muskets, however, drew the fire from the enemy's line, which continued moving on, and when about eight rods from the fence, the fatal order was given; the fire of the Americans mowed them down with the same tremendous severity, as at the redoubt. The officers especially fell victims to their deadly aim.

During this tremendous fire of musketry and roar of cannon, McClary's gigantic voice was distinctly heard, animating and encouraging the men as though he would inspire every ball that sped with his own fire and energy.

The British fired their heaviest vollies of musketry with admirable coolness and regularity, but without aim, at the Americans, and almost every ball passed harmless over them. Their artillery had been stopped by the brick kilns in the low ground, and produced little effect. This wing of the army having covered the ground with their dead, were at length compelled likewise to retreat; and the huzza of victory reechoed through the American line.

General Ward had by this time despatched sufficient reinforcements, but they did not reach the field. The fire across the neck wore an aspect too terrific for raw troops to venture in it. Putnam flew to the spot to overcome their fears and hurry them on before the enemy returned. He entreated, threatened and encouraged them; lashing his horse with the flat of his sword, he rode backward and forward across the neck, through the hottest fire, to convince them there was no danger. The balls however threw up clouds of dust about him, and the soldiers were perfectly convinced that he was invulnerable, but not equally conscious of being so

themselves.* Some of these troops, however, ventured over.

The battalion of artillery under Major Gridley had proceeded but a few hundred rods down the road to Charlestown when they were halted, and this officer determined not to proceed to the hill but wait and cover the retreat, which he considered inevitable. He was young and inexperienced, and totally inadequate to the important command which had been conferred on him in compliment to his father, Colonel Gridley. He was confounded with the dangers and difficulties of his situation, and never recovered his self possession during the day.

While the artillery was halted in this situation, Colonel James Frye, (who was absent from his regiment on duty the day before, but the battle approaching, had found his way to the field,) riding from Charlestown galloped up to them and demanded of the senior captain,† "why this unseasonable halt!" He was astonished at the reply, and ordered them instantly to the field. This veteran also animated their courage by the glorious recollection "this day

* The principal fact here is proved by the deposition of Mr. Samuel Bassett; the other circumstances by oral testimony.

† Yet living, and from whom we have this anecdote.

"thirty years since, I was at the taking of "Louisbourg when it was surrendered to us; "it is a fortunate day for America, we shall "certainly beat the enemy."

The artillery proceeded. Gridley joined them; but his aversion to joining in the engagement was invincible, and he ordered them on to Cobble Hill to fire at the Glasgow and floating batteries. The order was so palpably absurd, with their three pounders, that Captain Trevett absolutely refused obedience, ordered his men to follow him, and marched for the lines.

Major Gridley was sensible his artillery would be hazarded without infantry to cover them. Colonel Mansfield had been ordered with his regiment to reinforce the troops at Charlestown, but being peremptorily commanded by Major Gridley, whom he considered high military authority, to cover his pieces, he complied in violation of his orders.

General Putnam left the neck for Bunker Hill to bring up the reinforcements. He there found Colonel Gerrish with his regiment and some other scattered troops. The colonel had been a captain in the provincial army of 1756; he was of unwieldy corpulence and a disposition by far too quiet for a soldier's. He had marched his men rapidly from Cam-

bridge, and unwisely halted them here to rest. The blazing sun and tremendous fire of the enemy combined were far too powerful for the faintness of his military ardor to overcome. The men were disorganized and dispersed on the west side of the hill, and covered by the summit from the fire. Putnam ordered them on to the lines; he entreated and threatened them, and some of the most cowardly he knocked down with his sword, but all in vain. The men complained they had not their officers; he offered to lead them on himself, but "the cannon were deserted and they stood no "chance without them." The battle indeed appeared here in all its horrors. The British musketry fired high and took effect on this elevated hill and it was completely exposed to the combined fire from their ships, batteries, and field pieces.

The enemy were by this time organized anew and were again advancing to the attack. Putnam's duty called him to the lines. At this time Captain Ford appeared with his company. He served in a regiment under the veteran Lieutenant Colonel Parker and Major Brooks. Of them he had learned the duties of a soldier. He had already signalized himself at Lexington battle by killing five of the enemy. His orders were to proceed to the lines and reinforce the troops; he obeyed, marched unconcerned across the neck and

was proceeding down Bunker Hill, when Putnam was delighted with an aid so opportune. Callender's deserted cannon were at the foot of the hill; he ordered Captain Ford with his company to draw them into line. The captain remonstrated "his company were "totally ignorant of the discipline and em- "ployment of artillery." But the general peremptorily persisting in his order, he obeyed; his company moved with the cannon and the general himself to the rail fence.

The heroic enemy with unwavering step and firm undaunted bravery appeared again before the murderous lines which had already compelled them to retreat. They had nearly the same obstacles to overcome as before. Their cumbrous knapsacks, tall and almost impassable grass, and a torrid sun blazing in face of them they had to contend against, as well as an enemy every way worthy of them. One new obstacle they had to pass, the dead bodies of their fellow soldiers which covered the ground. But this served rather to stimulate them to still more daring efforts to revenge their fall. The last of the reinforcements, a few companies of marines, arrived on the left.

The Americans were now more confident and perfect than before in a manœuvre which had been crowned with success. It was in-

deed perfectly simple, but equally fatal to the foe. They received orders to reserve their fire till the enemy approached still nearer than before. At six rods only they were permitted to return the fire. The British artillery approached by the narrow road between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, within three hundred yards of the rail fence, and almost in a line with the redoubt, and opened on the lines to prepare a way for their infantry. The latter commenced a regular and tremendous volley by platoons, and their fire soon became general. But unfortunately for them, though perfect in drill discipline, and regular movements of parade, they were as grossly unskilful in what was a thousand times more important, a knowledge of their weapons. Their aim was too elevated, and the enemy were hidden behind their works. Some of their balls however took effect, and a few of the privates fell victims. The brave Major Moore was mortally wounded. Major Buckminster received a ball through the shoulder and was crippled for life.

To add new horrors to the scene, vast columns of smoke were now observed over Charlestown, and passed to the south over the American lines. General Howe on his first advance had sent word to General Burgoyne and General Clinton on Copps Hill, that his left flank was annoyed by musketry

from Charlestown, and ordered them to burn it down. A carcass was fired, but fell short near the ferry way; a second fell in the street, and the town was on fire. The conflagration was completed by a detachment of men who landed from the Somerset. The whole town was combustible. The flames ascended to heaven on the lofty spire of the church, and resembled the eruptions of a vast volcano in solemn grandeur and sublimity. The advance of the enemy was not obscured by the smoke from Charlestown; they were in full view of the Americans. Putnam now, with the assistance of Captain Ford's company, opened his artillery upon them. He had on this day performed the service of general, engineer and guide, and he now turned cannonier, with splendid success, and to the highest satisfaction of his surrounding countrymen. Each company of artillery had but twelve cartridges, and these were soon expended. He pointed the cannon himself, the balls took effect on the enemy, and one case of canister made a lane through them. As in Milton's battle,

"Foul dissipation followed and forced rout."

With wonderful courage, however, the enemy closed his ranks, and the fire became general on both sides. The Americans suffered the enemy to approach still nearer than before;

men and officers fell in promiscuous heaps; whole front ranks of them were swept away.

General Ward was without staff officers to bear his commands, excepting one aid and a secretary, who performed the duty. During the whole day these were mounted and on full speed between Breed's Hill and head quarters. Loss and neglect of orders were the inevitable consequence. Colonel Gardner's regiment and others who had been posted between Cambridge and Charlestown, to wait further orders, were overlooked. The battle was raging, and no orders arrived. The colonel was a gentleman of rank, had been a member of the legislature, and commanded a regiment of militia, which, marching to Lexington to join in the engagement there, suddenly opened on the British artillery; being entirely void of cover they dispersed. His gallant soul felt their conduct as a stigma on himself, and he resolved on the earliest opportunity to wipe the spot from his escutcheon. A glorious occasion was before him, and he panted to embrace it—to reap the honors of victory, or death and lasting fame. The latter fate was decreed him. He called to him his officers, and offered to lead them into battle; most of them with three hundred of his men followed him. He led them over Bunker Hill, viewed with unconcern the battle scene on the hill before him, terrible as Mount Sinai, and with

glorious anticipations, was descending to the engagement, when a musket ball entered his groin, and the wound proved mortal. He gave his men his last solemn injunction, to conquer or die, and was carried off the field. He soon met Captain Trevett advancing with his artillery, and an interesting and heroic interview ensued between the colonel and Captain Trevett's second Lieutenant Gardner, his son, a mere youth of nineteen. The son was in agony at the desperate situation of his father, and would have attended him off the ground. But the colonel prohibited this. "He should not "be alarmed at his situation, he was engaged "in a good cause and must march on and do "his duty." The distracted son obeyed, and his dying father had the consolation to learn that his last injunction and glorious example were not lost; and that his son was worthy of him.

These reinforcements, with Captain Clark and Captains Chester and Coit, who soon followed with their companies, supplied the places of those who had expended their ammunition and left the ground, and of the detachment sent off with the entrenching tools, who, in contempt of their orders, never returned.

The British had a long time borne the murderous fire of the enemy, but their astonishing fortitude and daring efforts were useless

against the insuperable difficulties they encountered. Nearly a thousand of their number had fallen, with an incredible proportion of the bravest officers. The distinguished Colonels Abercrombie and Williams, and Major Spendlove, had purchased fame with their lives.

The gallant Major Small was left standing alone, every one shot down about him. The never erring muskets were levelled at him, and a soldier's fate was his inevitable destiny, had not Putnam at the instant appeared. Each recognized in the other an old friend and fellow soldier; the tie was sacred; Putnam threw up the deadly muskets with his sword, and arrested his fate. He begged his men to spare that officer, as dear to him as a brother. The general's humane and chivalrous generosity excited in them new admiration, and his friend retired unhurt.

The undaunted Howe still led on his men in the hottest of the battle. His friend and volunteer aid, Gordon, and Captain Addison, a descendant from the author of the Spectator, were slain, and almost every other officer of his staff or near him was shot. Mortified and indignant at so much blood wasted in vain, he seemed to court an honorable death to hide him from the disgrace of a second defeat by an enemy he despised as peasants and re-

bels. His life seemed charmed, and he was compelled to follow his army, who again retreated and left their enemy to taste, a second time, the joys of victory.

The exultation of the Americans was glorious and well deserved, but it was, alas, short lived. They had leisure to realize the entire hopelessness of their situation. Their ammunition was expended, and they were as destitute of every offensive weapon as the naked savages, their predecessors. Prescott found a few artillery cartridges, which he distributed to his men, and they determined to show a resolute front to the enemy, to club their muskets, and even employ the stones thrown up with the parapet against them. Their only hope, however, was from a want of fortitude in the enemy, and that they had twice this day proved was slender indeed.

General Howe gave his men orders to prepare again to advance. Some of the officers remonstrated, that it would be mere butchery to lead them on again, but the generals, and nearly every officer, were indignant at a distant suspicion of their yielding the victory to these rebels, an undisciplined rabble, of inferior numbers, after all their boasting, and after they had poured out every epithet of contempt against them. To conquer or die was their resolve.

Bloody experience at last opened their eyes to their egregious errors. Their overweening confidence was laid aside, and a calculated, deliberate and judicious plan of attack adopted. The overloaded knapsacks were relinquished; firing with musketry was prohibited, and a charge with the bayonet resorted to. The attack was to be more concentrated; while the troops at the rail fence were amused by a show of force, the grand effort was to be against the redoubt and breastwork, and particularly the right flank.

The accomplished and chivalrous General Clinton now joined and brought his splendid talents into the council, and his distinguished gallantry into the field. Immediate and inconceivable was the sensation his appearance produced at this moment of deep despondence. From Copps Hill he had observed with shame and indignation the double rout of his countrymen, and particularly that the two distinguished battalions, the marines and forty seventh, were staggered and wavering. Without waiting for orders, he threw himself into a boat, passed over, and soon breathed into them his own exalted heroism.

General Howe a third time commanded a forward movement to scale the works and rush on the enemy with the bayonet. He came to the left to lead on to the redoubt himself.

Clinton joined General Pigot and the marines on the left to turn the right flank of the enemy. The artillery were ordered to advance still farther than before on their old rout, and turn the left of the breastwork to rake the line. General Howe at last became sensible that this was the most vulnerable point and key of the enemy's position.

The Americans made every preparation possible to repel the last desperate effort of the enemy. Putnam again rode to the rear, and exhausted every art and effort to bring on the scattered reinforcements. Captain Bayley, only, of Colonel Gerrish's regiment, advanced to the lines, and Captain Trevett now arrived at the rail fence with his pieces.

The enemy stripped off their knapsacks, and many of them their coats; the artillery pushed on by the road on the north, the forty seventh and marines near the road on the south side of the hill, and the remains of the royal Irish and other regiments, and part of the grenadiers and light infantry in front. Their past efforts had exhausted the strength and spirit of many of the men who lingered in the rear, and their gallant officers were compelled to urge them on with their swords. Some of the less resolute fired their pieces, but the great masses obeyed their orders, and with firmness moved on to the charge. They arrived under

the fire of the Americans, who improved to advantage their last opportunity for vengeance. Every shot took effect. The gallant Howe at last received a ball in the foot, where only like Achilles he seemed to be vulnerable, but continued to animate his men.

A few only of the Americans had a charge of ammunition remaining. They had sent for a supply in vain; a barrel and a half only were in the magazine. They resorted next to stones, but these served only to betray their weakness, and lent new energy to the foe.

The artillery advanced to the open space between the breastwork and rail fence; this ground was defended by some brave Essex troops, covered only by scattered trees. With resolution and deadly aim they poured the most destructive vollies on the enemy. The cannon, however, turned the breastwork, enfiladed the line, and sent their balls through the open gateway or sally port, directly into the redoubt, under cover of which the troops at the breastwork were compelled to retire.

The enemy bravely bore the deadly fire, and continually closing his broken ranks, deliberately advanced on every side of the redoubt except the north. They were now under the eastern side of the redoubt and covered from the fire. The Americans retired to

the side opposite to take them as they rose. Lieutenant Prescott, a nephew of the colonel, received a ball through the arm; it hung broken and useless by his side. The colonel ordered him to content himself with encouraging his men. But he contrived to load his piece, and was passing by the sally port to rest against the enemy, when a cannon ball cut him to pieces.

Young Richardson of the royal Irish, was the first to mount the works, and was instantly shot down; the front rank which succeeded shared the same fate. Among these mounted the gallant Major Pitcairn, and exultingly cried "the day is ours," when a black soldier named Salem,* shot him through and he fell. His agonized son received him in his arms and tenderly bore him to the boats. It was he who caused the first effusion of blood at Lexington. In that battle his horse was shot under him, while he was separated from his troops; with presence of mind he feigned himself slain; his pistols† were taken from his holsters, and he was left for dead, when he seized the opportunity and escaped.

* A contribution was made in the army for this soldier, and he was presented to Washington, as having performed this feat.

† This trophy afterwards belonged to General Putnam, and yet remains in his family, from whom we have the above anecdote.

The heroic but diminutive Pigot ran up the southeast corner of the redoubt, assisted by a tree left standing there, and desperately led on his men. Troops succeeded troops over the parapet, and Prescott exhausted every resource to repel them, even with the buts of his guns.

But he had now his last great victory to achieve, to which all his past toils, dangers and privations, were nothing. He had twice conquered the enemy; he had now, a more difficult task, to conquer himself, to bend down his lofty soul, and turn his back to the enemy. Perfectly careless of his own life, he had no right to trifle with the lives of his men. It was a sacred deposit they had entrusted to his honor, a bond which he never forfeited. Instead of an useless waste of life, with a "nil desperandum," he quelled his revolting spirit and ordered a retreat.

General Ward had gratified at last the ardent wishes of the Connecticut troops to join their beloved general. Captains Chester, Clark and Coit were on the ground with their troops, and Major Durkee's impatience had before this brought him mounted to the field, to join his old commander and comrade of former wars. Putnam's imagination had already inscribed the victory of Bunker Hill on his coat of arms, when a dark cloud flew across

the brilliant prospect. The retreat of the right wing burst upon him.

The gallant veteran Gridley now received a ball through the leg, and was carried off. He had served all night at the entrenchments, and had all day assisted in defending his own works, and proving their excellence.

Prescott's troops fought their way through the surrounding enemy. The veteran Captain Bancroft was charging his piece, a British soldier leaped from the parapet, touching him as he came to the ground, and levelled at him; they fired together; the captain tore him to pieces and escaped unhurt. One of the men without ammunition perceived Lieutenant Prescott's loaded musket by its deceased master; a Briton obstructed his passage; seizing the loaded musket he brought his antagonist to the ground.

Colonel Bridge, who came with the first detachment, was one of the last to retreat, and was twice severely wounded, in the head and neck. His lieutenant colonel, the veteran Parker, who had escaped through the whole war of 1756, in which he had signalized himself, and especially at the desperate siege of Fort Frontinac, received a ball in the thigh, and was left mortally wounded in the redoubt.

The chivalrous Warren lingered to the last. His exalted spirit disdained as a disgrace a retreat the most inevitable. He animated the men to the most desperate daring; and when hope itself had fled, he still disdained to fly. With sullen reluctance he followed his countrymen, and seemed to court that ball from the enemy, which a few yards from the redoubt, passed through his head, and secured to him the eternal gratitude of his countrymen, and immortal fame throughout the world.

Small here repaid the debt of gratitude he owed the enemy. He recognized Warren, his intimate friend, as he was leaving the redoubt, called to him for God's sake to stand and save his life; he turned and seemed to recognize him, but kept on. Small commanded the men not to fire at him; he threw up the muskets with his sword, but in vain, the fatal ball had sped.

The enemy came on, exhausted by their desperate efforts, under a blazing sun, and broken by the well directed fire. They had not force to employ the bayonet, and were too much broken and mingled with the enemy to fire their pieces. Their right and left wings were indeed facing each other, with the Americans between; their fire would have cut down both friend and foe. While they formed themselves anew, the Americans collected, and

made a brave and orderly retreat. Putnam put spurs to his foaming horse and threw himself between the retreating force and the enemy, who were but twelve rods from him;* his countrymen were in momentary expectation of seeing this compeer of the immortal Warren fall. He entreated them to rally and renew the fight, to finish his works on Bunker Hill, and again give the enemy battle on that unassailable position, and pledged his honor to restore to them an easy victory. Captain Smith of General Ward's regiment came with his company to reinforce, joined in the retreat, and assisted to keep the enemy at bay.

The Americans had retreated about twenty rods before the enemy had time to rally and pour in a destructive fire on them, which destroyed more than they had lost before during the day. Colonel Prescott's adjutant was shot and crippled, Captain Dow, of his regiment, was also crippled by a wound in the leg, and Captain Bancroft had a part of his hand carried off.

* Deposition of Lyman, then a lieutenant, and present, and Miner, a private in the same company. This is confirmed too by the testimony of a distinguished officer of the revolution, yet living, who had served with General Putnam in the French war, and was present himself and badly wounded.

The American left wing were openly congratulating themselves on their victory, when their flank was opened by the retreat of the right. The enemy pressed on them, and they were in their turn compelled to retire. Putnam covered their retreat with his Connecticut troops, and dared the utmost fury of the enemy, in the rear of the whole. These pursued with little ardor, but poured in their thundering vollies, and showers of balls fell like hail around the general.*

He addressed himself to every passion of the troops, to persuade them to rally, to throw up his works on Bunker Hill, and make a stand, and, as the last resort, threatened them with the eternal disgrace of deserting their general. He took his stand near a field piece, and seemed resolved to brave the foe alone. His troops, however, felt it impossible to withstand the overwhelming force of the British bayonets; they left him. One sergeant only dared to stand by his general to the last; he was shot down, and the enemy's bayonets were just upon the general, before he retired.

* This fact we have from a respectable friend, who was present and yet lives, Philip Johnson, Esq. of Newburyport. His honor and veracity is surpassed by no man's. See also deposition of Captain Hills, then ensign to Knowlton.

General Pomeroy continued to animate the men, and cut down the enemy himself, till a well hove ball shattered his musket. The retreat having commenced, he disdained to turn his back; but with backward step and lowering front shouldered the fragments of his piece, and carried off his men, encouraging them to pour in their formidable fire on the enemy.

Captain Trevett, like Callender, was deserted by his men. His lieutenants, Swasey and Gardner, stood by him, with but seven others, one of whom was Moses Porter, already a promising artillerist. He persuaded about thirty of the infantry to join in saving one of his pieces, the other he was compelled to abandon. A British company noticed the piece, and determined to seize the prey; they pursued, on the top of Bunker Hill were within thirty yards of them, levelled their muskets and fired. The captain gave up all for lost, when but one dropped dead, and another wounded, the remainder rapidly descended the hill, and carried off with honor the only piece saved out of six taken to the field. General Putnam ordered it to Cambridge.

The Charlestown company of Colonel Gardner's regiment was the last to retreat. They were fighting at their own doors, on their own natal soil. They were on the extreme left, covered by some loose stones

thrown up on the shore of Mystic River, during the day, by order of Colonel Stark. At this most important pass into the country, against which the enemy made their most desperate efforts, like Leonidas' band they had taken post, and like them they defended it, till the enemy had discovered another.

One piece of cannon at the neck opened on the enemy and covered the retreat. But these were in no condition, and discovered no inclination to renew the engagement, or pursue their advantage, except by a formidable cannonade from their field pieces. They remained on Bunker Hill, and lay on their arms during the night. The same was done on Winter Hill by the New Hampshire troops, and by the rest of the Americans on Prospect Hill, directly in face of the enemy.

Major Brooks was retained at Cambridge by General Ward, till the last reinforcements were sent to Charlestown, when he marched with the two remaining companies of his regiment, and met at the neck the Americans retreating.

Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, attended him as a volunteer. He was assisting the army by his mathematical learning, his estimates and surveys, but had solicited an appointment in vain, and had

made great but fruitless interest for the commission in the artillery which was bestowed on Major Gridley. For this gross injustice done to his distinguished merit, his country suffered well deserved punishment in the misconduct of his rival, and by the final loss of his services, except what they received, in common with all mankind, from his splendid philosophical discoveries, his glorious and beneficent political labors.

McClary, as attentive to the wants of his men as desperate in fighting them, galloped to Medford and returned with dressings for the wounded. He ordered Captain Dearborn to advance toward the neck with his company, whilst he crossed over to reconnoitre the enemy. He was returning with Lieutenant Colonel Robinson and others, and boasting that the shot commissioned to kill him was not yet cast, when a cannon ball from the Glasgow tore him to pieces. No smaller weapon seemed worthy to destroy the gigantic hero.

The veteran Gridley entered his sulky at Bunker Hill to be carried off. The enemy perceived the prey, shot his horse and riddled the sulky with balls; but their rage was impotent; meeting some obstruction in the road, he had left the carriage a moment before.

Prescott repaired to Cambridge, furious as a lion driven from his lair, foaming with indignation at the want of support when victory was in his grasp,—a victory dearly purchased with the precious blood of his soldiers, family and friends. He demanded but two fresh regiments of General Ward, and pledged his life with them to drive the enemy to his boats. He had not yet done enough to satisfy himself, though he had done enough to satisfy his country. He had not indeed secured final victory, but he had secured a glorious immortality.

Two young men in Boston were employed to take the wounded from the boats to the hospitals. A young lieutenant, shot through the body, was carried by them in a chair to his encampment. Passing the streets, pale and faint with loss of blood, he attracted the humane and generous compassion shown by the inhabitants to the wounded; enmity forgotten, they were all at their doors with refreshing drink for them.

At the encampment they met Captain Pitcairn, covered with blood. Struck with the appearance, the lieutenant inquired of him the cause, but his grief was too big for utterance. "vox faucibus hæsit." A sergeant informed him, the captain's father was shot at the

breastwork, and the captain carried him to the boat, where he died in his arms.

The hospital was established in a different place, to which they repaired, and witnessed a scene to melt the most obdurate enemy. The hospital and even the yard was overloaded with wounded, praying in vain for the surgeons to arrest the current of life, fast ebbing from their wounds, but which, from the numbers, it was impossible to dress.

Loud and melancholy wailings for the dead, from widows of the common soldiers, were heard in every street, and struck on the heart of the passenger.

The number of the Americans during the battle was fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at little more than two thousand men. Their loss was one hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty captured, in all four hundred and fifty.* The following is the loss of the respective corps:

Regiments.	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonels Stark and Reed	15	45
Colonel Scammons	0	2
——— Gerrish	3	2
——— Whitcomb	5	8
——— Brewer	7	11

* General Ward's orderly book.

Regiments.	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonel Little	7	23
——— Gardner	6	7
——— Gridley	0	4
General Putnam's regiment, Captain Coit and Captain Chester's companies	15	30
General Ward	1	6
Colonel Bridge	16	29
——— Prescott	42	28
——— Frye	15	31
——— Nixon	3	10
——— Woodbridge	1	5
——— Doolittle	0	9

Provincial Newspaper, July 15, 1775.

The British loss was one thousand and fifty four, including eighty nine officers; of these two hundred and twenty six were killed, including nineteen officers, and eight hundred and twenty eight wounded, seventy of whom were officers. The fifth regiment had one officer killed, the fourth one, twenty second one, thirty fifth two, thirty eighth one, forty third one, forty seventh three, fifty second five, four of them were the highest officers of the regiment, and the only pain they expressed from their wounds, was from having received them through the back. The sixty third had one killed, sixty fifth one, sixty seventh one, marines six, and General Howe's aid de camp: The fourth regiment had four wounded, fifth seven, tenth five, fourteenth one, eighteenth one, twenty third four, thirty fifth three, thirty eighth nine, forty third three, forty seventh

five, fifty second five, fifty ninth one, sixty third two, sixty fifth four, marines twelve, Page, of the engineers, and Jardin, secretary to General Howe. All the grenadiers of one company were shot storming the works excepting five, and these were led on by the oldest soldier. The grenadiers of the Welsh fusiliers were reduced to eight, and twenty two out of thirty nine grenadiers of the fifty second regiment were killed.*

In this battle the British gained a nominal victory, but the Americans the only prize contended for; they destroyed entirely the physical and moral force of the British army, imprisoned them within their narrow lines, and prevented their excursions. The enemy never after recovered their enterprise and confidence in America, and by this single battle the final success of the American revolution was secured.

* Gentlemen's Magazine for 1775, and Essex Gazette, 13 July, 1775.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

General Ward received from the General Congress the appointment of first major general and second in command of the American army. On the arrival of General Washington at Cambridge, he assumed the command of the right wing at Roxbury, and his general disposition of the troops about Boston was sanctioned by the approbation of the commander in chief.* From extreme ill health, he resigned his commission in April, 1776; but notwithstanding his resignation was accepted, at the earnest request of Congress and General Washington, he continued in command, near Boston, until the 20th of March, 1777. He was afterward a member of Congress under the old confederation and present constitution, and died in 1800, aged seventy three.

The life of General Putnam has been detailed by abler hands.

* Marshall, vol. 2, p. 242.

General Thomas was appointed first brigadier general under the United States, in 1776 was appointed major general, and on the death of Montgomery repaired to Canada to command the American forces before Quebec. Their situation was nearly desperate; but he was too adventurous to relinquish the enterprise without one attempt to secure the favors of fortune. He endeavoured to burn the enemy's naval force before the city by a fire ship, intending to attack the place during the conflagration; but the fire ship miscarried, and the general was compelled to order a retreat, during which he died of the small pox at Chamblee.

General Pomeroy expressed his strong sense of the blindness of fortune, that, of the two volunteer generals in the battle, Warren, the young and chivalrous soldier, the eloquent and enlightened legislator, should fall, and he escape, old and useless, unhurt. From age he declined the honorable appointment of brigadier general of the United States army, and retired from service. But, like the veteran war horse, when the echoes of his majestic Connecticut rang with the clarion of battle, he spurned the peaceful retreat which his long life and long services demanded. He preferred even a regiment to inaction, and as a colonel marched to join the kindred spirits who composed our army in the Jerseys. His

exposures produced a pleurisy, which proved fatal at Peckskill in New York, where his country owes him a monument, and bravery and patriotism perennial fame.

When Putnam was ordered on what may well be styled a forlorn hope, to land at Boston with a detachment, in face of the army and batteries of the enemy, Colonel Prescott solicited of him the honor of participating the desperate undertaking. But heaven frowned at an excess of presumption which her past favors had encouraged; a violent hurricane arrested the enterprise.

The colonel continued in the service of the United States, accompanied General Washington to New York, and on the disastrous retreat through the Jerseys, he alone was able to keep his men in the ranks. They proved themselves worthy the hero of Bunker Hill, kept the enemy in respect, were exhibited to the army as an example worthy imitation, and the colonel received the cordial thanks of Washington in general orders.

In 1777 he, with a corps of volunteers, joined General Gates, and served with him till victory crowned our arms, and Burgoyne's whole army was the trophy.

When peace ensued, he became a member of the legislature, and in 1787 distinguished himself as a magistrate as he had in 1775 as a soldier. From the miseries and poverty which succeeded the war, many of the sufferers were driven to oppose the course of legal authority. The enlightened patriot employed his potent influence to stay the tempestuous waves of insurrection. He collected his friends and proceeded to Concord armed to protect the court in session there against the conspirators. He lived to advanced age, and we are happy to add *he was a christian.*

The veteran Colonel Joseph Frye,* who had served in the war of 1756, was at the siege of Louisbourg, and taken prisoner in Fort William Henry, immediately after the battle the 21st June, was appointed major general by the Provincial Congress. He served some time in the revolutionary war, and lived to a very advanced age, at Fryeburgh, which received its name from his family.

Colonel Gardner lived a few days after the battle, and on being asked if he was well enough to see his son, "yes," answered the hero, "if he has done his duty." Being informed that he had distinguished himself, he

* Brother of Colonel James Frye.

saw him, and died with the glorious consolation of leaving the invaluable legacy of his own fame and his country's gratitude to a son worthy to support the honors of his name.

The life of Major Brooks since the battle of Bunker Hill has been far too distinguished in the military and political history of America to be noticed satisfactorily in a supplement. Some biographer may hereafter confer on the public, a donation worthy their gratitude, a distinct account of this hero and statesman. But this cannot be anticipated till the last enemy of man has overcome the amiable modesty, for which he is equally distinguished as for all his higher excellencies, and the requisite information be obtained from his papers which has often been solicited in vain from himself.

When General Washington arrived at Cambridge his regiment was distinguished for the superior discipline he had introduced, and General Gates pronounced him one of the first disciplinarians in service. He was appointed first inspector of the army under the Baron Steuben, and afterwards adjutant general for the army on the North River.

He was distinguished in nearly all the important battles of the revolution. He was in the battle on Long Island with the reinforcement, and in that of White Plains. History

has recorded him among the most distinguished commanders of the army which achieved the conquest of Burgoyne, and he was in the battle of Monmouth as adjutant general.

From their earliest acquaintance he was a favorite of Washington, enjoying his uniform friendship, and was honorably distinguished, by his selecting him, among the seven generals of his choice, to serve with him in 1798.

During the last war he had the superintendance of the militia of Massachusetts, directed the forces with admirable skill, and secured the country from inroads of the enemy.

For some years he has been elected governor and commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by the voice of the people, to the universal satisfaction of all parties. Over the liberties and free constitutions he established as a warrior, he now presides as a legislator with distinguished ability.

The brave Knowlton, from the first moment of the battle to the latest period of the retreat, showed himself worthy the distinguished honor of being selected as the first among the Connecticut captains.

He afterwards received the commission of lieutenant colonel, and at the battle of Harlem

Heights, was sent by Washington to get into the enemy's rear; a bloody action ensued; Knowlton and his men fought the whole force of the enemy, of vastly superior numbers, before the Americans could attack in front, and got the better of them. He restored by this gallant affair a glorious moral force to the army nearly extinguished by disasters; but it was at the expense of many brave men in the unequal contest; his assistant officer, Major Latch, was slain, with three balls through him, and he himself reaped immortal honor and immortal life together.

Washington paid due honors to his memory in general orders, and declared, "he had died "a glorious death, which every soldier ought "to wish for, and would have been an honor "to any country on earth."

The same indignation felt by Colonel Prescott, at the loss of the battle, was general in the army, and throughout the country; a scrutiny, most severe and unrelenting, was instituted into the conduct of every one, to bring condign punishment on those whose misconduct had caused the final issue. Even Colonel Bridge, notwithstanding the severity of his labors, and the dangerous and honorable wounds he received, had to pass the ordeal of a court martial.

Notwithstanding this inquisitorial research, we are happy to add, out of near three thousand, who, at different stages of the battle, must have been engaged in it, and most of them for the first time, four only were discovered guilty of misconduct. Of these, Major Gridley was tried for neglect of duty, Brigadier General Green being president of the court, which "find him guilty of breach of "orders, and therefore dismiss him from the "Massachusetts service; but on account of his "inexperience and youth, and the great confu-"sion which attended that day's transaction in "general, they do not consider him incapable "of a Continental commission, should the gen-"eral officers recommend him to his Excel-"lency."

Colonel Mansfield was obviously guilty of an error only arising from inexperience. Two only were found guilty of cowardice; of these Colonel Gerrish was certainly guilty of a want of military ardor and activity, but this was a constitutional defect. He was not accused before the committee of Congress by General Putnam, and, in the opinion of the very respectable judge advocate who tried him, and who yet lives, he was far too harshly treated.

The only officer apparently guilty of cowardice, Captain Callender, is a glorious instance of the buoyancy of real New England

heroism, and the redeeming efficacy of a pure conscience, a mind conscious of rectitude. The furious denunciation of Putnam, the condemnation of the court, and thundering proscription of Washington, would have crushed any one forever, who was armed with a panoply less divine.

A committee of Congress was appointed to inquire into the truth of a report, that some officers of the army had been guilty of misconduct; they report, that they had made inquiry of General Putnam and other officers, who were in the hottest of the battle, and that the general charged Captain Callender and another artillery officer, with infamous cowardice, one of the principal causes of the defeat, and informed them that he would quit the service if these officers were not made an example of, and that one of them ought to be shot. The court martial condemned Captain Callender, and General Washington approved the judgment, "not only from the particular "guilt of Captain Callender, but the fatal "consequence of such a conduct to the army, "and to the cause of America in general."

Notwithstanding this, our hero resolved to compel the world to acknowledge, by his future conduct, that his past had been mistaken. He continued with his corps as a volunteer, and desperately exposed himself in every ac-

tion. The brave and beneficent General Knox extended to him his friendship.

At the battle on Long Island, the captain and lieutenant of the company of artillery, with which he served, were shot; he assumed the command, and fought the pieces to the last; refused to retreat, and the bayonets of the soldiers were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his chivalrous and desperate courage, interfered and saved his life.

General Washington expressed his high approbation of his conduct, gave him his hand with his most cordial thanks; ordered the sentence of the court martial condemning him, to be erased from the orderly book, and restored to him his commission. He held his commission during the war, and left the service at the peace, with the highest honor and reputation.

Captain Dearborn was afterwards highly distinguished during the revolutionary war for his bravery and enterprise. He volunteered at the head of a company of men, selected from the regiment to accompany Arnold, in the winter of 1775, through the trackless wilds, to Quebec; an enterprise, which, in daring, hardihood and courage, is not surpassed by the immortal passage of the Alps by Hannibal. He was major of a battalion of light

infantry at Saratoga, and his services were acknowledged by Gates in the highest terms of approbation. Cilley's regiment, of which he was lieutenant colonel, was the most distinguished corps in the battle of Monmouth, and the salvation of the army was owing to their heroic courage. General Washington acknowledged the service, and sent to inquire what regiment it was. "Full blooded yankees "by ..... sir," was the answer of Dearborn. He was afterwards secretary at war appointed by Mr. Jefferson; and during the last war was the first major general and senior officer of the American army.

Porter, the promising artillerist, who stood by his piece and his captain to the last, has since then risen through every grade of office to the rank of brigadier general in the army, to which he has ever since belonged; and has maintained an uniform and distinguished reputation as one of the first artillery officers in service. The important post of Norfolk was entrusted to his command the last war, and he is now stationed at Boston in command of the very district which he so bravely contributed to defend in 1775.

General Howe, notwithstanding his wound, remained on the field the whole night, watching the enemy's movements, and protecting his own position; supporting himself against

some hay, he ordered his attendants to prevent him from falling asleep.

The morning after the battle, a young gentleman from Boston went on the ground, and recognized the body of Warren, and mentioned the fact. General Howe would not credit the account; it was too improbable that the president of Congress was in the battle. One of the most eminent physicians of that or the present day, and yet living in Boston, was on the field; he had gone over during the battle to dress the British wounded, and was yet dressing them and the wounded American prisoners, with his usual humanity and skill. General Howe asked him if he could identify Doctor Warren; he recollected the doctor had lost a finger nail and wore a false tooth, and informed the general that Doctor Warren had five days before ventured over to Boston in a canoe to get information, invited him to join the American troops as surgeon, and informed him that he was himself to receive a commission in the army. General Warren was instantly recognized, and Howe declared this victim alone was worth five hundred of his men.

Omitted pages 92 *and* 93.

Immediately after the battle, the rank of major general was conferred on Colonel Gridley.

America commenced her revolution with but four pieces of cannon, and to his mechanical science and ingenuity she was indebted for the first mortars and cannon ever cast in the country.

After being confined some months by his wound, he repaired to Cambridge and superintended the fortifications erecting round Boston. On the 4th March, 1776, he was again engaged in erecting fortifications in the night, and the address, science and prodigies of labor, displayed at Dorchester Heights, were perhaps never exceeded, except on Breed's Hill. These works expelled the enemy from Boston. General Gridley fortified the heights of this place and the islands in the harbor, and General Washington urged him to accompany the army, but his advanced age forbad. He retired on half pay. In 1795 he assisted in laying the corner stone of the state house, as he had in 1775 to lay the corner stone of the state, and lived in remarkable health to the age of eighty six, a model of courtliness, beneficence and hospi-

tality, as well as all the high perfections of a soldier.

Colonel Stark will be recognised as the hero of Bennington, but it is not so generally known that he employed an ingenious and successful expedient to strike a panic into the enemy and assist him in achieving his glorious victory. He had one iron cannon, but neither powder sufficient to employ it, nor balls; he ordered an officer, however, to charge it, who objected the want of balls; "no matter," said the colonel, "load it with blank cartridge, and "let the discharge be the signal for all the "troops to rush on the enemy." The Hessians were panic-struck at the thundering report, his troops rushed on with loud hurras, and the victory was complete.

ERRATA.

Page 272, line 4, after "gentleman from Boston" *add the following note.*

General Winslow, yet living. Another friend of the author, yet living, was within six feet of Warren when he fell, and received himself a ball through the thigh.

Page 183, l. 17, *read* Major Box, an experienced, &c. P. 202, l. 2, *for* defence, *read* defensive. P. 211, l. 17, *for* side, on front, *read* side, or front. P. 222, l. 4 from bottom, *for* spare, *read* sparse. P. 233, l. 14, *for* huzza, *read* hurra. P. 263, l. 2, *for* Peckskill, *read* Peekskill. P. 267, l. 11, *for* Latch, *read* Leitch. P. 189, l. 4 from bottom, *omit* his. P. 199, l. 3 from bottom, *omit* and. P. 272, l. 3 from bottom, *for* Howe, *read* the enemy. P. 183, l. 18, *for* two, *read* four. P. 221, l. 19, *after* Boston, *insert* the principal part of. Same page, l. 28, *erase* a large portion of. P. 258, l. 15, *for* Provincial, *read* Providence. P. 257, l. 22, *after* killed, *add* and missing.

We neglected to mention that Honorable James Winthrop, and James Swan, Esquire, accompanied the reinforcements to Breed's Hill, with their muskets, as volunteers, fought valiantly, and the former was wounded.

NOTE. The author was necessarily absent from town during the whole time the work was in the press.

THE END.

HOME USE
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MAIN LIBRARY

This book is due on the last date stamped below.
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405.
6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books to Circulation Desk.

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date.

ALL BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL 7 DAYS AFTER DATE CHECKED OUT.

SEP 26 1975 8 6

REC. CIR. APR 8 '75

MAY 12 1975

REC. CIR. NOV 10 1975

INTERLIBRARY LOAN

AUG 9 1983

UNIV. OF CALIF., BERK.

LD21—A-40m-12,'74
(S2700L)

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YB 37307